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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FROM PRINCESS OLHA TO BABA:
IMAGES, ROLES AND MYTHS IN THE HISTORY OF UKRAINIAN WOMEN IN CANADA

by

© FRANCES ANN SWYRIPA

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
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DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

EDMONTON, ALBERTA
FALL, 1988

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(Signed) Frances Swyripa

PERMANENT ADDRESS:

33 Greenwood Way
Sherwood Park, Alberta T8A 0J4

DATED: 11 July 1988

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled "FROM PRINCESS OLHA TO BABA: IMAGES, ROLES AND MYTHS IN THE HISTORY OF UKRAINIAN WOMEN IN CANADA"

submitted by FRANCES ANN SWYRIPA

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

R. Macleod
Supervisor

Susan Jackel

David Mills

D. Owram

John-Paul Himka

John H. Thompson
External Examiner

Date 17 June 1988

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines Ukrainian Canadian women as members of an ethnic group with a strong sense of mission and identity rooted in conditions in its homeland and its Canadian experience. A negative stereotype and low status in Canada, due to Anglo-Canadian nativism and Ukrainians' peasant cultural baggage as immigrants, have been accompanied by a strong identification with Canadian nationbuilding. Community activists and spokespersons have used their group's self-image as a founding people of western Canada not only to insist upon full participation in Canadian society but also to demand state support for survival as an ethnocultural community, made necessary by national-cultural and political oppression in twentieth-century Ukraine.

These concerns have made group membership and obligations involuntary. As such, while admittedly the "second sex," women have been both actors in their own right and material for the community to cultivate and exploit in the group's interests. Ukrainian Canadians' peculiar needs magnified women's importance as mothers and homemakers, responsible for the commitment of youth to enlightenment and progress and to Ukrainianness, but they also demanded women prepared to participate actively and knowledgeably in community life.

Part One establishes the historiographical and political context within which female images, roles and myths in the history of Ukrainians in Canada emerged. Beginning with the depiction of Ukrainian Canadian

women in the historical literature, Part Two pursues the interplay between elite and popular concepts of women and their role in the Ukrainian Canadian experience, distinguishing between the propaganda and programs of the nationalist majority and the pro-Soviet progressives. Separate chapters discuss the peasant immigrant woman, criticized for ignorance and apathy; community responses to her daughters, exposed to the opportunities, prejudices and assimilatory pressures of the Anglo-Canadian world; the "Great Women" that nationalists and progressives evoked as models and sources of inspiration; the women's organizations founded to instruct the mass of women in their national or class responsibilities and to involve them in community life; and the retrospective idealization of the peasant immigrant at formal community and grassroots levels, where the tensions between a cultural ethnic consciousness and a politicized national consciousness as the core of the Ukrainian Canadian identity are played out in the female figure.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AUUC -- Association of United Ukrainian Canadians (Tovarystvo obiednanykh ukrainskykh kanadtsiv)

OUN -- Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (Orhanizatsiia ukrainskykh natsionalistiv)

UCC -- Ukrainian Canadian Committee (Komitet ukraintsiv Kanady)

UCWC -- Ukrainian Canadian Women's Committee (Komitet ukrainok Kanady)

UCWL -- Ukrainian Catholic Women's League (Liga ukrainskykh katolytskykh zhinok)

ULFTA -- Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association (Tovarystvo ukrainskyi robitnycho-farmerskyi dim)

UNF -- Ukrainian National Federation (Ukrainske natsionalne obiednannia)

USRL -- Ukrainian Self-Reliance League (Soiuz ukraintsiv samostiinykiv)

UWAC -- Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada (Soiuz ukrainok Kanady)

UWOC -- Ukrainian Women's Organization of Canada (Orhanizatsiia ukrainok Kanady im. O. Basarab)

WFUWO -- World Federation of Ukrainian Women's Organizations (Svitova federatsiia ukrainskykh zhinochykh orhanizatsii)

INTRODUCTION

Ukrainian Canadians perceive themselves and have been perceived in turn as unique among Canadian ethnic groups. The peculiar confluence of their experience in Canada and events in twentieth-century Ukraine has generated a group image and consciousness, together with a sense of mission, that set them apart from other Canadians of non-British and non-French origin.[1] They liken their predicament to that of the French Canadians. Both have struggled for due recognition, the right to self-expression, and survival in the face of hostility and indifference from a more powerful Anglo-Canadian culture and the state it dominates. Ukrainians claim recognition as full participants in Canadian society and the right to self-expression as an ethnocultural community[2] because of their role as founding peoples, particularly in western Canada. They stress survival - with state support, earned by their special contribution to Canadian nationbuilding and made necessary by an unnatural relationship with their homeland, where Ukrainians have seldom been "masters in their own house" - because of the precariousness of national life in Ukraine.

Ukrainians' interpretation of their role in Canadian development, emphasis on Ukrainian group rights and group survival and its external point of reference, and conception of the Canadian nation and identity to accommodate both "Canadian" and "Ukrainian" goals have challenged assumptions of the nature of Canada based on the experiences and prejudices of the two charter groups. They have also dictated how Ukrainian Canadians, especially the community elite, most active in cultivating and exploiting the group's image and consciousness and in defining its objectives, have perceived the different parts to relate to the whole. With few exceptions, the experiences and needs of the individual, the specific class or faction, or the particular gender have been subordinated to and interpreted within the framework of the collective experience and needs of the group. Moreover, Ukrainians' ambiguous position ~~in~~ Canadian society and commitment to group survival and Ukrainianness have meant that all Canadians of Ukrainian origin, despite personal preferences, have been presumed to belong to the group - with obligations toward its preservation and reflecting upon its image and status. They have been seen either to identify with and promote its aspirations or as there to be mobilized and molded to do so.

This outlook has ensured that women, while admittedly the "second sex," have been accepted participants in the Ukrainian Canadian experience, both actors in their own right and material for the community to cultivate and exploit in the group's interests. Women's images and roles in the literature devoted to the group's history, in community propaganda and programs, and in the popular consciousness are an extension and reflection of how Ukrainian Canadians perceive themselves. In that they define Ukrainian Canadian women, first and last, as members of their group, they subordinate female issues and perspectives to Ukrainian ones. The group concerns responsible for the dominance of nationality over gender - survival as a national-cultural community, due recognition and acceptance in Canadian society, and obligation to the homeland - have also been responsible for a perception of women that at once embraces and transcends their procreative function and traditional socially-prescribed roles. With the family the basis of society and children the key to the future, Ukrainian Canadians' peculiar needs magnified the importance of women as mothers and homemakers, but they also demanded women prepared to participate actively and knowledgeably in community life.

* * * * * * *

Survival has been a permanent question in Ukrainian history. Brief periods of statehood - the medieval princedom of Kievan Rus', the Cossack state of the mid-seventeenth to eighteenth centuries, and the Ukrainian People's Republic (1917-20) - never secure from external aggression, have been separated by longer periods under more powerful neighbours unsympathetic or indifferent to the Ukrainian population. Over centuries of rule by Poland and Russia in particular, the greater part of the native Ukrainian nobility was alienated, the church as a national institution stifled, the mass of peasants enserfed and expressions of Ukrainian cultural and political consciousness suppressed.

In the late nineteenth century when the first and largest of three waves of immigration to Canada began, Ukrainian lands were divided between imperial Russia (larger Eastern Ukraine) and the Austro-Hungarian empire (the western provinces of Galicia and Bukovyna and Transcarpathia). Serfdom had been abolished in Austria-Hungary in 1848 and in Russia in 1861, but a high indemnity forced the peasants to pay heavily for their land. Mounting indebtedness, the threat of dispossession from shrinking plots, rural overpopulation with too few domestic outlets for surplus labour, widespread alcoholism, massive illiteracy and worsening living conditions plagued the peasantry in the two empires as the century ended.[3] Although movement abroad was all but closed to Russian Ukrainians, Ukrainians in Austria-Hungary sought relief first in seasonal employment in nearby Prussia or Pennsylvanian coal mines and then in permanent relocation overseas - in the United States, Brazil, Canada. The great majority of immigrants to Canada came from Galicia, which had gone to Austria in the first partition of Poland in 1772 and where the Poles continued to wield a political and economy monopoly. More backward Bukovyna, dominated by the local Romanian element, supplied few immigrants, the small impoverished area of Transcarpathia virtually none.

Approximately 170,000 Ukrainian peasants, accompanied by a few members of the lay and clerical intelligentsia, arrived in Canada at the height of turn-of-the-century expansion and growth. As homesteaders for the prairie provinces, and as the labour for Canada's railways and resource frontiers, they were expected to provide the manpower for a country engaged in physical and psychological nationbuilding. This immigration, dominating the Ukrainian group in Canada numerically, has also given it its basic character and public image - peasant, prairie, western Ukrainian. Interwar immigrants, again primarily peasants from Galicia and Bukovyna (under Poland and Romania, respectively) as well as other Ukrainian territories in the new Poland, and again initially destined for farms in western Canada, reinforced the pioneer base but was much smaller - some 68,000 individuals. The 34,000 displaced persons coming in the wake of the Second World War were from a wider geographical area than their predecessors, generally better educated, socio-economically more diverse and attracted to central Canada; they injected a new dimension into the Ukrainian Canadian community without fundamentally altering the group profile.[4]

In the legacy of the peasant pioneers lies Ukrainian Canadians' sense of identity as Canadians. The time and place of their major immigration to Canada, and the large numbers involved, have convinced Ukrainian Canadians that they are founding peoples, with rights in Confederation equal to those of the two charter groups. Strong psychological identification with Canadian nationbuilding, rooted in their ancestors' considerable physical role in national development during a crucial period, is the source of a feeling of group worth that constitutes a positive aspect of their ethnic consciousness. This sense of belonging and participation evolved despite an actual inferior position in Canadian society, and has fueled demands for treatment commensurate with their contribution.

The Ukrainian Canadian self-image also possesses a negative, often defensive, quality that reflects the ambivalence of the group's reception and acceptance by the dominant White, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant (WASP) element in Canada.[5] That immigrants arriving in the Dominion prior to the Great Depression entered a society that was aggressively British Canadian erected barriers to Ukrainians' full integration into Canadian life quite apart from the initial and objective handicaps of language, poverty and ignorance of Canadian ways. Given the size of their immigration, their concentration in the prairie provinces, and their congregation in rural bloc settlements and urban ghettoes, Ukrainians' peasant cultural baggage was particularly visible and menacing.[6] It not only burdened them with a low status and negative stereotype that persisted beyond the period of initial contact but also exposed them to discrimination and exploitation and made them the specific target of Anglo-Canadian assimilation programs. In contrast to their healthy and voluntary self-image as builders of Canada, the ethnic consciousness that crystallized as a result - a sense of Ukrainianness as differentness because of the marginality and inferiority of Ukrainians' position in Canadian society - was the product of involuntary group membership and mainstream prejudices.

But a sense of Ukrainianness as differentness emerging in reaction to conditions and attitudes encountered in Canada did not merely represent a sense of alienation, of being "not Anglo-Canadian."[1] It was also part of the process whereby Ukrainian Canadians came to perceive and define themselves as "Ukrainian," members of a Ukrainian nation whose people shared a common language and culture and whose political fate awaited resolution. Of great significance to the crystallization and substance of Ukrainian consciousness in Canada, colouring Ukrainian Canadians' attitudes to their homeland and heritage, is the fact that Ukrainian immigration occurred at a critical juncture not only in Canadian but also in Ukrainian nationbuilding.

Echoing contemporary developments among other Slavic peoples, the late nineteenth century witnessed the gradual transformation of the Ukrainian peasant mass into a self-conscious community seeking political expression. It marked the creation of the modern Ukrainian nation. Beginning early in the century as a cultural revival dominated by clerical and literary figures, the Ukrainian national movement became increasingly politicized and widespread under an activist secular intelligentsia combining national and populist goals. A constitutional monarchy after 1867, Austria-Hungary provided a more favourable climate for Ukrainian initiatives, however, than autocratic Russia where even elementary education in Ukrainian was prohibited. Although intellectually less productive than Eastern Ukraine, Galicia became the formal base of the Ukrainian national movement and a haven for Eastern Ukrainian exiles. Proceeding more rapidly and penetrating more deeply in Austrian than in Russian Ukraine, the process of nationbuilding had reached well into the Galician countryside by the early twentieth century; in the east it acquired a mass character only with the cataclysmic events of 1917.[7]

In Galicia, the essentially conservative Greek Catholic clergy dominated the national movement and work among the peasantry until the 1890s, when the secular intelligentsia largely displaced them. Two political parties - the National Democrats, heirs of the populists of the 1860s and 1870s, and the Radicals, anti-clerical and agrarian socialist - vied with the clergy for influence and control of the peasants. By 1900, Galicia was crisscrossed by a network of reading halls (*chytalni*), *prosvita* or enlightenment societies and agricultural cooperatives spearheaded by the local priest, intelligentsia or advanced peasants. Assisted by an expanding press, such institutions helped to weld village peasants into a larger national community, hasten their politicization and encourage group action against socioeconomic oppression. These developments affected the balance of power in Galicia, particularly in the predominantly Ukrainian eastern half of the province, where political naiveté and disorganization had permitted the Poles to retain their traditional dominance. Reforms to give the Ukrainians more equitable representation in the Galician diet, a role in the provincial administration and control of Ukrainian primary and secondary education were balked by the outbreak of war in 1914.[8]

Events over the next four years pushed Ukrainians to seek the solution to their national aspirations within a Ukrainian state uniting all ethnically Ukrainian territories. In the east, the Ukrainian People's Republic was proclaimed in Kiev following the Bolshevik seizure of power and declared complete sovereignty some three months later. Despite widespread popular support and commitment to social and economic reforms, it faced formidable obstacles: political inexperience; invading Russian Red and White armies; anarchy and ruin in the countryside due to war and now civil strife; hostility in the cities, non-Ukrainian and centres of Bolshevik support; and opposition from both a rival Soviet Ukrainian government and the Hetmanate, a conservative German puppet regime installed after armistice with the Central Powers in early 1918. In the west, with the collapse of the Habsburg monarchy at the war's end, Galician Ukrainians established the Western Ukrainian People's Republic, unleashing a war with Polish forces claiming this ethnically Ukrainian territory for the new Poland. In January 1919, the two Ukrainian governments merged.[9]

The united Ukrainian People's Republic proved unable to withstand combined Soviet and Polish aggression or to influence world leaders redrawing the map of Europe. By the early 1920s, Western Ukraine had been divided among the new states of Poland, Romania and Czechoslovakia, while the bulk of Eastern Ukraine was incorporated into the Soviet Union as the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. Socioeconomic conditions for the peasantry worsened under Soviet collectivization and Polish and Romanian colonization schemes in Galicia and Bukovyna. Intellectual purges in Soviet Ukraine and the repression of Ukrainian institutions in all three areas both crippled national-cultural life and retarded the ongoing Ukrainization of the masses. Lastly, the artificial famine that accompanied collectivization, together with the less devastating Polish "pacification" of the Ukrainian countryside, threatened physical survival itself. The Second World War brought further hardship under Soviet and Nazi occupations and another aborted bid for independence. Since 1945 all Ukrainian territories have been part of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, subject to centralization through Moscow, escalating Russification, the suppression of dissent and human rights, and censorship of national-cultural life.[10]

By uprooting immigrants to Canada at different stages in identity formation and politicization, the national renaissance of the late nineteenth century and subsequent events in Ukraine contributed to the complexity of the group emerging in the new environment. They equally spurred the coalescence and factionalization of a distinct community around Ukrainian cultural and political points of identification and group goals. Ukrainian consciousness as a national-cultural identity in Canada has been stimulated and sustained by the frustrated hopes of the revolutionary years and the oppression of national life and civil liberties in the homeland since. The resulting sense of commitment to the Ukrainian nation abroad and to linguistic, cultural and institutional survival in Canada has affected the group's relationship with both mainstream Canadian society and its own members. It has been the impetus behind Ukrainian Canadians' leading role in the struggle for the recognition and public support of ethnic group rights and communities in Canada, through an interpretation of Canadian history and the Canadian nation that legitimizes the participation and contribution of the non-British and non-French. It has also dictated how group spokespersons and activists, those spearheading the crystallization of a collection of immigrants into an organized and divided community, have attempted to influence the community itself and Ukrainian Canadians at large.

Giving the early Ukrainian Canadian community its form and vying for dominance were several factions reflecting ideological alignments and conflicts in prewar Galicia. Canada destroyed the traditional hegemony of the Greek Catholic Church. Although it was to solidify its position in the 1920s and 1930s as the largest body in the community, retaining the allegiance of almost sixty per cent of Ukrainian Canadians, it had two permanent rivals. The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, founded in 1918 by the nationalist intelligentsia, soon claimed a quarter of Ukrainian Canadians; attractive to the nascent middle class and concerned equally for the image and status of Ukrainians in Canada and Ukrainian national needs, its leadership emerged as the most dynamic voice in lay matters. The Ukrainian socialist movement, particularly active in urban and mining centres, converted to Marxism in 1914 and supported the Bolsheviks in 1917, setting the stage for the acrimonious relationship of its successors with the nationalist majority in the Ukrainian Canadian community and exclusion from its structures and programs.

Pro-Soviet, pro-communist Ukrainian Canadians, who heralded the creation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and its national-cultural flowering in the 1920s, remained loyal to Moscow through the purges and famine of the 1930s and have continued their support despite ongoing Russification and the suppression of dissent.[11] Uniting the remainder of the community has been opposition both to the Soviet and to interwar Polish and Romanian regimes in Ukraine. It has cut across an often bitter Catholic-Orthodox rift and disagreement, escalating with the arrival of interwar and postwar immigrants, over the nature of the future Ukrainian state, Ukrainian Canadian involvement in its realization and group priorities in Canada. The most adept at cultivating and articulating Ukrainian Canadians' self-image and group ambitions and projecting these onto mainstream society, the nationalists have been responsible for the identification of Ukrainian Canadians with the mosaic or multiculturalism and for the emphasis on group survival. Success has hinged, and hinges, not only on Ukrainian will and the degree and quality of commitment by the mass of Ukrainian Canadians to the agenda of community activists, but also on the attitudes of mainstream Canadian society toward ethnic assimilation and ethnic group maintenance.

Unlike identification with Canadian nationbuilding, often a spontaneous and grassroots phenomenon, or a negative sense of Ukrainianness induced by Ukrainians' ambiguous position in Canadian society, the metamorphosis of individuals into a structured, politicized community with distinct goals has been largely the work of the Ukrainian Canadian elite.[12] Beginning with the immigrant intelligentsia, lay and clerical, of the early twentieth century and the small educated stratum emerging in the new homeland, it has attempted to harness and mold Ukrainian Canadians in the interests of the group and community as it has perceived them. With the sharpening and formalization of ideological divisions in the 1920s and 1930s, competing nation-wide networks were established to propagandize and unite Ukrainians across Canada on behalf of their respective programs. While the two Ukrainian churches, their lay affiliates and the political organizations founded by interwar and postwar immigrants have repeatedly clashed on specifics and method, they have also repeatedly undertaken to work for the greater and common good. Pivotal to all approaches has been the assumption that every Ukrainian Canadian belongs to the group - with responsibilities toward its image and status in the larger Canadian context, survival as a national-cultural community, and Ukraine. This conviction has compelled the community elite, acting in the name of the group, to monitor and instruct individual and collective behaviour alike and to cultivate the attitudes necessary for its goals.

Sharply criticizing the apathy and ignorance it blamed for the Ukrainian immigrants' unflattering reputation and low standing, the pioneer intelligentsia was the first to assume, as its right and duty, the role of community watchdog. In defining the desirable and undesirable, it stressed general enlightenment, or education, and material progress as the keys to improving Ukrainians' position in Canadian society concretely and perceptually. Developments in interwar Ukraine, that increased the importance of Ukrainian national consciousness and commitment at the same time as hardening Anglo-Canadian attitudes toward assimilation placed obstacles in the way,[13] made general enlightenment and material progress ever more crucial. To preserve and nourish their language and culture in Canada and to extend moral and material aid to the nation abroad, Ukrainian Canadians as a whole had to be first mobilized, then equipped with the physical, spiritual and intellectual resources on which success relied.

The idea of their dedication to progress and education has, like participation in Canadian nationbuilding, become an article of faith in

Ukrainian Canadians' self-image, proof of their desire for and achievement of the upward mobility essential to true integration into Canadian life. As the means to achieving Ukrainian group goals, however, progress and education, like identification with Canadian nationbuilding, have been mixed blessings. While better equipping Ukrainian Canadians to serve Ukrainian interests, they have also worked to weaken the influence of the community elite and Ukrainian identity among the masses.

It is within the framework of group survival and self-consciousness, with all Ukrainian Canadians members of the group to be harnessed and molded in its interests and reflecting upon it, that female images, roles and myths in the history of Ukrainians in Canada are to be understood. Not only have women been perceived and acknowledged as actors in the group experience, in both its integrative or "Canadian" and exclusive or "Ukrainian" dimensions, but they have also been the objects of community expectations, pressures and dictates. How women have been depicted in the historical literature as participants and influences in the Ukrainian Canadian experience, how they have been identified with community programs and goals, and how they have functioned as popular group symbols are a direct product of how Ukrainian Canadians perceive themselves, their place in Canadian life and their Ukrainian heritage. The images, roles and myths assigned to Ukrainian Canadian women over the past century indicate how women, both because and in spite of their sex, have for better or worse been seen to relate to the evolution and aspirations of the Ukrainian Canadian group.

Neither the "woman-oriented" and "woman-defined" approach to the female experience that a contemporary Canadian women's historian describes as writing "directly about the experience of women in the past for its own sake rather than as part of some broader or other subject,"[14] nor improving women's position in society, the constant goal of women's history and advocates in English Canada,[15] has inspired or governed discussions of Ukrainian Canadian women. To the community historians instrumental in forging Ukrainian Canadians' sense of themselves and their destiny, as Canadians and as Ukrainians, and to the community activists seeking to prescribe attitudes and standards of behaviour, Ukrainian Canadian women have been inseparable from their ethnicity, their belonging to a group with peculiar, albeit changing, socioeconomic and national-cultural characteristics. Survival as an identifiable community in Canada because of national-cultural oppression in the homeland, while struggling against active and passive opposition from mainstream Canadian society and the enduring legacy of low immigrant entrance status, has dictated the primacy of the "Ukrainian question" over the "woman question." In the history of Ukrainian women in Canada, nationality has preceded gender.

In their reluctance to conceive of women independent of the group experience and concerns, and the accompanying subordination of feminist perspectives and issues to Ukrainian ones, Ukrainian Canadians have resembled group spokespersons in French Canada where, historically, attitudes and policies toward women have been determined by the demands of la survivance. Ukrainian Canadian women merited attention because they had specific needs, interests and responsibilities as Ukrainians; because their attitudes and behaviour impinged upon the group image and group objectives; and because they shared a common mission with Ukrainian men that overshadowed narrowly female or individual experiences and issues. Even the stress on progress and education that evokes the

English Canadian concern for women's position in society, and which has helped transform peasant immigrants into modern women with a socioeconomic profile not unlike that of their sex generally in Canada,[16] has had the welfare of all Ukrainian Canadians at heart: the material and spiritual quality of life of Ukrainian Canadian women became a community issue because it affected the future of the Ukrainian Canadian group. As guardians of many customs and crafts central to Ukrainians' grassroots sense of common identity or Ukrainianness, and through their dominance in the domestic sphere, especially childrearing, Ukrainian Canadian women acquired an importance that went well beyond the responsibility for childbearing that guaranteed physical survival. On the values they transmitted to their offspring, and hence to successive generations of Ukrainian Canadians, rested the quality of Ukrainian Canadian life in general and individual commitment to the group.

Agitation on behalf of women's traditional maternal, domestic and cultural roles on which group survival and Ukrainian ethnicity were presumed to depend reflects the roles historically prescribed for French Canadian women to ensure la survivance. But whereas French Canadians sought refuge in a traditional rural lifestyle and values, Ukrainian Canadians chose to emulate "the English" and committed their group, and by extension their women, to socioeconomic progress and upward mobility. In so doing they not only strained, extended and changed women's roles but also altered women's expectations in ways not always conducive to furthering community objectives. And unlike both French and English Canadians, Ukrainian Canadians have insisted that their group's circumstances force their women to participate actively and responsibly in community and national life. While primarily an extension of their domestic roles, this public role has placed Ukrainian Canadian women outside as well as inside the home and implies the need for women knowledgeable in the issues and politics of their group.

* * * * * * *

Part One establishes the framework within which female images, roles and myths in the history of Ukrainians in Canada are to be examined. It relates Ukrainian efforts to legitimize their particularity to those of other peoples and regions of Canada. Through the cultivation and use of group myths and a reinterpretation of history, Ukrainian Canadians have followed a time-honoured tradition to seek full integration into Canadian life and recognition in Canadian nationbuilding by validating their uniqueness and special contribution to the country's development and identity. Important differences, however, demonstrate the singularity of Ukrainian Canadians' search for legitimization. They have wanted not merely to redress a history of marginality and inferiority in Canadian society but also to create a public climate favourable to Ukrainian group survival and self-expression as a structurally complete community. This goal, predicated upon the vulnerability of their language and culture in the homeland, and its external point of reference have been responsible for the refusal of the Canadian mainstream to countenance a vision of Canada accommodating ethnicity as Ukrainians understand it, adversely affecting their long-term prospects for survival. Emphasis on survival and Ukrainianness, together with concern for their image and status, have also dominated Ukrainian Canadians' perceptions of their own history as well as the relationship of individual members and segments of the group to the whole.

Part Two explores how Ukrainian Canadian women, as procreative and social beings, have been portrayed, defined and mythologized as members of a group with a strong sense of mission and identity complicated by a legacy of "second-class citizenship." This approach neither places women at the centre of their past nor focuses on woman-related issues and concerns with the aim to combat sex discrimination in society. Rather it places Ukrainian Canadians at the centre, with the issues and concerns that have formed their collective consciousness and profile as the underlying and unifying theme.

The prominence of the community elite in setting and projecting group priorities and strategies is apparent in the images, roles and myths created about and for Ukrainian Canadian women. Designed to sell an ideal or to promote the desirable, as group spokespersons and activists have perceived them, they have not necessarily represented reality or practical options for the mass of ordinary women or reflected their own attitudes toward group membership and service. That Ukrainian Canadians have shared visions and prejudices with their elite is evidence both of its rapport with the popular mind and the success of its propaganda. The exclusiveness of other visions and prejudices, however, indicates the frequent irrelevance of the elite's ambitions and perspectives to those in whose name it presumes to speak. The areas of discord suggest its failure to unite and animate Ukrainian Canadians through a politicized Ukrainian consciousness hinging upon continued identification with Ukraine and formal Ukrainian Canadian community life. On the other hand, a popular Ukrainian Canadian identity erected upon the peasant pioneers, who earned their descendants ~~their~~ birthright as Canadians, represents a victory for the peasant culture that has both determined

Ukrainian Canadians' understanding of their Ukrainian heritage and provided the symbols for a non-political Ukrainian cultural consciousness.

Beginning with the depiction of Ukrainian Canadian women in the historical literature, the second section pursues the interplay between elite and popular concepts of women and their role in the Ukrainian Canadian experience. Elite concerns in particular have been responsible for women's treatment by their contemporaries. Attitudes toward the peasant immigrant and her daughters - together with the heroines culled from Ukrainian history for them to emulate as mothers, homemakers and community activists - had the common objective of rallying Ukrainian Canadian women behind the goals of group survival and status in Canada and assistance to Ukraine. With time, models came not only from Ukrainian history but also from Ukrainian Canadians' own past, and Ukraine vied for first place with the group in Canada. This "Canadianization" of female images and roles, however, reached its culmination not at elite but at popular levels.

The peasant immigrant pioneer woman, immortalized and frozen by a later generation as baba or grandmother, has become a major group symbol. Representing a more passive and less "Ukrainized" tradition than that espoused by the community elite, her myth illustrates the centrality of the peasant pioneer heritage to Ukrainian Canadians' identity as both Canadian and Ukrainian. That they have chosen a female as their symbol is a significant comment on the substance of that identity, but it does not alter the fact that while baba functions as a woman and owes her role to her sex, she is important as and because she is Ukrainian. Like Ukrainian Canadian women throughout their history, baba is inseparable from the group to which she belongs.

FOOTNOTES

[1] "Ethnic" refers to Canadians of non-British and non-French origin, excluding Canada's native population. It implies particular, albeit changing, national-cultural traits as well as socioeconomic characteristics determined by a group's historical ranking in Canadian society.

[2] An ethnocultural community or group has been described as a microsociety with its own inner dynamics, infrastructures and means of self-expression and perpetuation; see Ukrainian Community Development Committee, Prairie Region, *Building the Future: Ukrainian Canadians in the 21st Century, A Blueprint for Action* (Edmonton 1986), 25. "Community" as used and understood here reflects this definition. It refers to formal organized life and to those identifying with Ukrainian culture, institutions and causes, in particular the spokespersons and activists providing leadership and shape to the community and defining goals and responsibilities for the group. "Group" refers to all Canadians of Ukrainian origin. Regardless of their attachment to things Ukrainian, they are the people the community addresses and in whose name it presumes to speak; and they are the people whom historians and others must consider when determining the fate of the descendants of Ukrainian immigrants to Canada.

[3] On conditions among the Ukrainian peasantry in late nineteenth-century Austria-Hungary, see John-Paul Himka, "The Background to Emigration: Ukrainians of Galicia and Bukovyna, 1848-1914," in *A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada*, ed. Manoly R. Lupul (Toronto 1982), 11-58; and Orest T. Martynowych, "Village Radicals and Peasant Immigrants: The Social Roots of Factionalism among Ukrainian Immigrants in Canada, 1896-1918" (M.A., University of Manitoba, 1978), 11-20. On conditions in Russian Ukraine, see Konstantyn Kononenko, *Ukraine and Russia: A History of the Economic Relations Between Ukraine and Russia (1654-1917)* (Milwaukee 1958), 33-100; and H.R. Weinstein, "Land Hunger and Nationalism in the Ukraine, 1905-1917," *Journal of Economic History* 11 (My 1942): 24-35.

[4] Ukrainian immigration figures are based on William Darcovich and Paul Yuzyk, eds., *A Statistical Compendium on the Ukrainians in Canada, 1891-1976* (Ottawa 1980), Series 50.24-38, pp. 506-7. The literature on the first Ukrainian immigration to Canada is extensive and will be discussed on subsequent pages. That the two later waves have been little examined is a reflection of their lesser importance numerically and in the group consciousness. Only two full-length studies exist. See

Myron Gulka-Tiechko, "Inter-war Ukrainian Immigration to Canada, 1919-1939" (M.A., University of Manitoba, 1983); and Lubomyr Y. Luciuk, "Searching for Place: Ukrainian Refugee Migration to Canada After World War II" (Ph.D., University of Alberta, 1984).

[5] The acronym WASP (White, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant) is used non-judgmentally and interchangeably with Anglo-Canadian, English Canadian and British Canadian to refer to the dominant culture group and the attitudes and ideas associated with it. This implies a homogeneity of thought and equality in numbers, power and status among the English, Scottish, Irish and Welsh and within each group that did not exist. The fact of internal differences should nevertheless not obscure an elite consensus and influence that has dominated the WASP concept of Canada and the Canadian experience.

[6] Contrary to Anglo-Canadian fears, neither the 16.[illegible] per cent of prairie residents the "non-preferred" races formed in 1921 nor the 18.7 per cent they formed in 1941 seriously threatened the British group's 56.4 per cent and 47.8 per cent of the population in the two years, respectively. Based on Darcovich and Yuzyk, *Statistical Compendium*, Series 20.40-6 and 20.50, pp. 35-9.

[7] On the Ukrainian national movement in the Russian empire, see George S.N. Luckyj, *Between Gogol and Ševčenko: Polarity in the Literary Ukraine, 1798-1847* (Munich 1971); and Bohdan Krawchenko, *Social Change and National Consciousness in Twentieth-Century Ukraine* (London 1985), 1-45.

[8] On the Ukrainian national movement in Galicia, see Jan Kozik, *The Ukrainian National Movement in Galicia, 1815-1949* (Edmonton 1986); Ivan L. Rudnytsky, "The Ukrainians in Galicia under Austrian Rule," in *Nationbuilding and the Politics of Nationalism: Essays on Austrian Galicia*, ed. Andrei S. Markovits and Frank E. Sysyn (Cambridge, Mass. 1982), 23-67; and the following works by John-Paul Himka: "Priests and Peasants: The Greek Catholic Pastor and the Ukrainian National Movement in Austria, 1867-1900," *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 21, no. 1 (Mr 1979): 1-14; *Socialism in Galicia: The Emergence of Polish Democracy and Ukrainian Radicalism (1860-1890)* (Cambridge, Mass. 1983), 40-60, 106-72; and *Galician Villagers and the Ukrainian National Movement in the Nineteenth Century* (Edmonton 1987).

[9] See Taras Hunczak, ed., *The Ukraine, 1917-1921: A Study in Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass. 1977).

[10] On interwar Galicia and Soviet Ukraine, the Second World War years and post-1945 Ukraine, see Stephan Horak, *Poland and Her National Minorities, 1919-1939* (New York 1961); Krawchenko, *Social Change and National Consciousness in Twentieth-Century Ukraine*, 46-152; George S. N. Luckyj, *Literary Politics in the Soviet Ukraine, 1917-1934* (Freeport 1971); James Mace, *Communism and the Dilemmas of National Liberation: National Communism in Soviet Ukraine, 1918-1933* (Cambridge, Mass. 1983); Hryhory Kostiuk, *Stalinist Rule in the Ukraine: A Study of the Decade of Mass Terror (1929-1939)* (New York 1961); John A. Armstrong, *Ukrainian*

Nationalism, 2d ed. (Littleton, Col. 1980); Yury Boshyk, ed., Ukraine During World War II: History and Its Aftermath (Edmonton 1986); and Borys Lewytzkyj, Politics and Society in Soviet Ukraine, 1953-1980 (Edmonton 1984).

[11] There have, of course, been defections. In the 1930s Danylo Lobay led a splinter faction, unable to condone developments in Soviet Ukraine, out of the pro-Soviet, pro-communist movement; see Danylo Lobai, "Komunistychnyi rukh sered ukraintsiv Kanady," in Propamiatna knyha Ukrainskoho narodnoho domu u Vynypegu, comp. Semen Kovbel and ed. Dmytro Doroshenko (Winnipeg 1949), 749-63. In the 1960s and 1970s, amid much publicity, long-time Ukrainian Canadian communist, John Kolasky, denounced Russification and national oppression in Soviet Ukraine; see his Education in Soviet Ukraine: A Study in Discrimination and Russification (Toronto 1968); and Two Years in Soviet Ukraine: A Canadian's Personal Account of Russian Oppression and the Growing Opposition (Toronto 1970).

[12] The precise nature and composition of the pioneer immigrant intelligentsia has yet to be studied. Paul Yuzyk describes it as a "petty intelligentsia," Orest Martynowych as a "village intelligentsia," both terms indicating humble origins: see Paul Yuzyk, The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, 1918-1951 (Ottawa 1981); and Martynowych, "Village Radicals and Peasant Immigrants." As the major figures in the Ukrainian Galician intelligentsia did not emigrate, lesser figures acquired a prominence in the new world that they would not otherwise have attained. For an exploratory discussion of the role of the pioneer intelligentsia, see Bohdan S. Kordan, "The Intelligentsia and the Development of Ukrainian Ethnic Consciousness in Canada: A Prolegomenon to Research," Canadian Ethnic Studies 17, no. 1 (1985): 22-33.

[13] On the intensification of nativism in western Canada between the wars, see Howard Palmer, Patterns of Prejudice: A History of Nativism in Alberta (Toronto 1982), 61-164; and Patrick Kyba, "Ballots and Burning Crosses - The Election of 1929," in Politics in Saskatchewan, ed. Norman Ward and Duff Spafford (Don Mills 1968), 105-23, concerning the impact of the Ku Klux Klan.

[14] Alison Prentice, "Writing Women into History: The History of Women's Work in Canada," Atlantis 3, no. 2 (Sp 1978): 78.

[15] See Margaret Andrews, "Review Article: Attitudes in Canadian Women's History, 1945-1975," Journal of Canadian Studies 12, no. 4 (Su 1977): 69-78.

[16] Recent studies of religious and ethnic endogamy, fertility, age at first marriage and participation in the workplace demonstrate both increasing approximation to Canadian norms for their sex and continuing differences between Ukrainian and Canadian women as a whole. See, for example, Jean E. Wolowyna, "Trends in Marital Status and Fertility of Ukrainians in Canada," in Changing Realities: Social Trends among Ukrainian Canadians, ed. W. Roman Petryshyn (Edmonton 1980), 161-88;

Marusia K. Petryshyn, "The Changing Status of Ukrainian Women in Canada, 1921-1971," in ibid., 189-209; Nancy L. Penny, "Marriage Patterns in an Ethnic Community in Rural Manitoba, 1896-1970" (M.A., University of Manitoba, 1972); and Marlene Stefanow, "A Study of Intermarriage of Ukrainians in Saskatchewan" (M.A., University of Saskatchewan, 1962).

PART ONE

UKRAINIAN CANADIANS AND CANADIAN HISTORICAL TRADITION

CHAPTER I

LEGITIMIZATION AND THE PARTICULARIST PERSPECTIVE: A CANADIAN TRADITION

The fundamental fact is that Canada is a country of distinct regions settled and exploited over several centuries by different peoples acting under many impulses and frames of reference. That the visions and personnel of the populous WASP/French centre, together with conflicts and issues emerging from their experience, dominate and define the whole is equally significant. Alienation of the parts, feeling misunderstood or depreciated, exists as a constant danger. It reaches extreme form in periodically intense separatist movements, whether "racially" inspired as in Quebec or the product of sectional grievances as in the prairie West. The antithesis of separatism, integration with the national experience, marks attempts by the parts to establish their legitimacy as full partners in the Canadian nation-building process. They base their claims on a reinterpretation of national history and a concept of Canada that appreciate their own particular role and contributions.

Such assertiveness requires maturity and self-confidence and often precedes or accompanies political demands. Success hinges upon the ability of the group or region to impress its views upon the country as a whole, specifically the intellectual and governing elites. These views must be widely perceived to contain an acceptable expression of the Canadian identity as well as valid explanations of nationbuilding in the past and guidelines for its future. Public activists are, of course, ultimately seeking to influence the future, especially the status and power of their group or region in its relationships with the whole or other parts. In its creation of collective memory and historical myths that foster a sense of self and purpose, the historiography of the peoples and regions of Canada has reflected the aspirations and concerns of their politicized spokespersons.

The recent study of Canadian women's history is a case in point. Criticizing the trivialization and neglect of women's existence and contribution in conventional male-dominated historical scholarship, women's historians resolved to rescue the "second sex" from invisibility by making women independent actors and subjects of enquiry. Individual achievers or "Great Women" to complement the "Great Men" of nation-building and female participation in such landmark events as two world wars incorporated women into the traditional framework of Canadian history. More importantly, women's historians demanded recognition of the female experience on its own terms, liberated from the restrictions and distortions of often inapplicable patriarchal criteria. The mass of ordinary women - including the political, economic, sociocultural and intellectual forces shaping their lives - attracted much of the new research. Appreciation of a distinct women's world together with the integration of the female experience and feminist perspective into mainstream scholarship, women's historians maintained, would both challenge accepted tenets of Canadian history and enrich understanding of the nation's development.[1]

Identification with the objectives of the contemporary feminist movement concerning women's position in society has been the motivating factor behind Canadian women's history. That the historians seeking to give women their past have also, like their political counterparts, been predominantly of British and French origin, is equally significant. For ideological roots and goals shared with the women's movement have combined with personal roots in the dominant culture to determine the assumptions that Canadian women's historians brought and applied to their discipline, the framework they imposed and the themes they identified and pursued. The result not only illuminated women's own experience but also defined the parameters of Canadian women's history and indicated how women, collectively and individually, were to be integrated into the national experience as full participants in Canadian society. The implications for ethnic women, and for "historically meaningful participation in the nation's development"[2] for peoples outside the two founding races generally, are far-reaching. Women's history has reflected a perception of the proper subject matter of Canadian history, and the manner in which the non-British and non-French relate to the national experience, that at the outset leaves ethnic women on the fringes - marginal, faceless and passive.[3]

Indifference to ethnicity among mainstream women's historians stems partially from the demands of the feminist movement. Women's history in English-speaking Canada, where ethnic women have been concentrated and most reside,[4] admits the present-mindedness of its practitioners. Wishing to mobilize women against sex-based discrimination, they have concentrated on female oppression - its causes, forms and effects - and on women's efforts to conform or resist. Such an emphasis made women's relationships to men and male systems an inevitable major focus. Women's history in English-speaking Canada also owes a debt to the pioneering ideas of American historian, Gerda Lerner, who insisted that female criteria determine structure and content.[5] "To view women as persons in their own right," writes Ruth Pierson in placing Canadian women at the centre of their past, "as human beings of reason, will, and feeling, is a feminist perspective, and obviously the only correct one. That feminist perspective is what legitimizes women's history as a field of study."[6] In both cases the primacy of gender as a conceptual and an organizing principle, whether positive or negative, is unquestioned. Factors like class, race, ethnicity and regionalism are consciously or unconsciously subordinated to women's unique and common condition, either alone in the world of women or as women in the world of men. It applies to historical scholarship the feminist notion of all-encompassing and dominating sisterhood.[7]

By itself the contemporary women's movement with its insistence on the primacy of the category "woman" accounts inadequately for the neglect of race and ethnicity, as other factors cutting across gender have not been so neglected.[8] How historians' dominant-culture outlook has influenced the choice of subject matter and approach must also be considered.

Margaret Andrews argues that the purpose of women's historiography in English Canada has always been to improve women's position in society, while in French Canada it has been to propagandize for women's traditional roles in the interests of la survivance. The converging of the two streams in the 1970s as French Canadians turned increasingly to feminist issues she interprets as a sign of unity during escalating

French-English tensions.[9] Perhaps another interpretation is more illuminating. By the 1970s the psychological framework for many French Canadians had shifted from the French Catholic province of Quebec struggling for survival in an unsympathetic English sea to the Quebec nation controlling its own destiny; as group survival against outside pressures receded in importance, the "woman question" could become an internal matter directly concerned with women's needs and divorced from their relationship to la survivance. The situation in English Canada has been entirely different. Secure in their membership in the dominant culture (politically, socially and economically), WASP women have never been faced with basic group survival, in spite of unfounded fears in the early twentieth century that "foreign" immigration would swamp their race and way of life. Unlike French Canadian women - or Ukrainian women in Austria-Hungary and interwar Poland, or Black women in the United States, for example - they have been free to concentrate on improving women's position in society without having to debate whether women's rights or group rights should take priority.[10] Group security, regardless of their inferior status as women in their society, not only dictated the interests and perspective of mainstream women's historians in English-speaking Canada but also made the French Canadian perspective and that of ethnic women, as members of national or ethnocultural collectivities, alien or irrelevant or secondary.[11] The bias in Canadian women's historiography has paralleled the mainstream assumptions and concerns of the feminist movement that produced accusations of insensitivity to the problems of immigrant and ethnic women.[12]

In important respects, establishing the legitimacy of women as full-fledged members of society and actors in the national experience cannot be compared to attempts by the peoples and regions of Canada to secure recognition as equal partners in Confederation. But that their respective group backgrounds and needs have influenced mainstream women's historians in both English and French Canada in their approach to their own pasts and to those of other women testifies that factors such as race and ethnicity can compromise or override the question of gender.[13] Like women and their historians, Canada's ethnic groups have also sought legitimization through the reinterpretation and use of history. Both women and ethnics, however, have been latecomers to a well-established Canadian practice as over the centuries the various parts of the country have attempted to secure their niche within the whole. Two traditions in particular - the Loyalist and the western - are especially significant for their illumination of the processes by which ethnic Canadians have argued simultaneously for their own particularism and for equality in the Canadian nation.

In The Sense of Power, his study of Canadian imperialist thought between Confederation and the Great War, Carl Berger examines its appeal to history, in the cultivation of a Loyalist tradition, for sanctification of the principles to guide national life in the present. The historiography generated by and serving the Loyalist tradition exalted both the Loyalists as the founders of British Canada and the conservative values, fundamental to a healthy society, for which they had suffered. These values not only constituted the foundation of national greatness but also acted as a common unifying sentiment for all Canadians.[14] "The loyalist tradition," Berger concludes,

> gave to Canadian imperialism a domestic and native tone, a feeling that the movement grew out of Canada's own past and was part and parcel of Canadian history. It also imparted

> to imperialism an almost indescribable sense of mission and destiny....The British Empire belonged to Canadians, the power it represented was rightly theirs to share, because of the sacrifices of the loyalists. Animated by this vision, the loyalist descendants and those who regarded the United Empire Loyalists as the founders of the nation looked forward to the steady extension of Canadian authority until it overshadowed the power of the republic from which their ancestors had fled. In the loyalist tradition imperialism was a form of redemption.[15]

The Loyalist tradition cultivated in nineteenth-century New Brunswick also symbolized loyalty to the Crown and permanently valid conservative social values, and it produced an historiography that reinforced and "proved" the myth. But, Murray Barkley maintains, it lacked the sense of power and imperial mission of the Ontario-dominated "national" Loyalist tradition described by Berger. Moreover, it had a purely New Brunswick dimension. Expanding in popularity and intensity in periods of anxiety, it functioned as a form of regional patriotism - a psychological antidote to relative backwardness, vulnerability and insignificance. At the same time it facilitated the reconciliation of New Brunswickers to Confederation; not only did the Loyalist tradition provide historical continuity to ease the transfer of allegiance from familiar colony to unfamiliar state, but because New Brunswick Loyalists had preserved in their colony the principles and institutions which were to be "cornerstones of Canadian nationality," they were founding fathers of Canada as well as of New Brunswick.[16] Nothing better illustrates how the groups and regions of Canada mobilize historical myth both in the interests of their own particularism and to integrate, by appropriating and manipulating the images of the centre or whole, with the national experience.

Parallels exist in western Canada where historians also developed a founding fathers myth, rejecting subordinate hinterland status for the West, to affirm its independent, indigenous importance in nation-building. The Selkirk settlers, Frits Pannekoek argues, were the West's United Empire Loyalists. He bases his statement on late nineteenth-century Red River historiography, which glorified Selkirk's colonists for having preserved the West for Confederation to make possible the physical realization of a transcontinental nation.[17] In his study of the Canadian expansionist movement in the second half of the nineteenth century, Douglas Owram explores the relationship between the West and its people and their historiography in greater depth.[18]

Expansionists envisaged that the West, developed as the socio-cultural and agricultural hinterland of the centre, but morally superior to it because of the purifying wilderness, would be the vehicle for lifting Canada from colony to nation and even empire. Although initially not a challenge to the eastern interpretation of the past this perspective cultivated, by the 1900s western historiography was attempting to legitimize the West's own experience and reflected its crystallizing consciousness. Deepening regional roots had combined with a sense of betrayal by central Canada under the shock of frontier reality and collapse of the "promise of Eden" to disillusion westerners. Rejecting the hinterland-metropolis formula and transplanted-Ontario image, they turned to their own past for inspiration and identity, as both westerners and Canadians.

Western historians replaced the Hudson's Bay Company-North West Company merger and Canadian annexation with the establishment of the Selkirk colony as the decisive moment in western history, and constructed around it the tradition necessary for a functional historical myth. While pre-annexation Red River, symbolized in the Selkirk settlers, became an idealized utopia that was past, it had also imparted the basic moral and social structure to modern Manitoba. As founding fathers or "a regional group of United Empire Loyalists," Owram writes, "in education, religion, loyalty to the Empire, and rule by law, the Selkirk colonists had laid the foundations of western Canada."[19] They provided the link between past and present that both affirmed the continuity and intrinsic value of western history, and thus the legitimacy of the West's existence in its own right, and opened its heritage as the common property of all westerners.

But this orientation also facilitated the West's rejection of its imposed subordinate role and status in nationbuilding. The conviction of the valuable contribution of their institutions and traditions to building the promised superior society in a virgin land enabled westerners to internalize the sense of mission contained within expansionism. Moreover, "in the toil and sacrifice of the Selkirk settlers lay the rights of present-day westerners to full equality in the Dominion. For if the province of Manitoba owed a great deal to the Selkirk settlers, so too did the Canadian nation. 'We say'," continues Owram, quoting Red River historian George Bryce,

> 'that had it not been for the Selkirk Colonists we would have stood to lose our Canadian West.' That West, as expansionists had argued for some time, was what enabled Canada to move towards greatness.....
>
> In fact, it could be argued that the westerner, with his unique blend of experience, opportunity, and history, best epitomized the spirit of the young Dominion of Canada. The West had lifted British North America from provincialism to nationalism and only the westerner could completely understand the new role Canada had assumed in the Empire and world.[20]

Although this is not Owram's emphasis, westerners and their historiography had essentially inverted expansionist ideology to demand proper recognition of the West in the movement's own language and images. As with the New Brunswick Loyalists, it marked acceptance of the "national" perspective originating outside them, but appropriated in such a way to make it justify the right of their particularity to equal participation and full consideration in Canadian development.

What do the Loyalist and Selkirk settler founding fathers myths have to say to or about ethnics? If the compulsion to establish legitimacy has been strong in regions of Canada in defiance of the centre and among acceptable British groups like the United Empire Loyalists and Selkirk settlers, it has been equally strong among non-British and non-French minorities, who have a particular psychological need to belong. The farther back they can establish their antecedents in Canada, the greater their claim to the entire Canadian historical experience; and the more they can locate their forebears in the Canadian pantheon of heroes, the greater their chances of integration and acceptance. The weight attached to a founding fathers myth frequently reflects a group's traditional ranking at the hands of Anglo-Canadian society. "Desirable" immigrants from northern and western Europe and the United States, enjoying positive stereotypes in the public mind and literature, have found legitimization not only less difficult but also less urgent than have "non-preferred" eastern and southern Europeans or unwanted Asiatics.[21] Also affecting the creation of a founding fathers myth and ability to make it viable are a group's size and concentration and sense of identity; the latter is fed not by its image and treatment in Canada alone but also by the inner dynamics of its community life, including the nature of its relationship with the homeland.

For some groups the establishment of distant Canadian ties, at least as superficial symbols, is relatively simple. Norwegians, for example, begin their story with Viking voyages to the New World one thousand years ago, and twentieth-century Italian immigrants date their Canadian roots from the 1497 discoveries of Venetian Giovanni Caboto for England.[22] Other groups have had to look beyond such official landmarks and standard figures of Canadian history (or challenge their assumptions) to stake their claim to a Canadian past, or they have resorted to more tenuous ties and shadowy individuals. Greek Canadians, for example, have suggested that Christopher Columbus and Juan de Fuca were of Greek origin; Hungarian Canadian tradition evokes the poet-explorer Stephen Parmenius, reaching Canada in 1583, and maintains that an Hungarian sailed with Leif Eriksson to America; popular Ukrainian Canadian and American chronologies begin with Ivan Bohdan, supposedly the first Ukrainian in the New World, who accompanied Captain John Smith to Virginia.[23] While such "firsts" can rarely sustain meaningful founding fathers myths, they play a role in ethnic self-worth and -legitimization.

Ethnic historiography has also attempted to provide disadvantaged groups with the prestige necessary to compete with Anglo-Saxon civilization. This is particularly true of minorities where peasants dominated the movement to Canada and often still predominate in a homeland lacking either international stature or domestic prosperity and stability. With little in recent history to rival the Anglo-Canadian heritage or arouse pride, ethnic historians have found status for their group in the more distant past. The Canadian Odyssey, for example, strikes a chord with classical Greece to which western civilization is so indebted. Both Greek and Italian groups in Canada, of peasant origin and low socioeconomic status, profit vicariously from the general esteem their histories enjoy as well as the popularity of their homelands as tourist meccas or the international reputation of Italian opera, fashion and foods.[24] Despite the resulting dichotomy between ethnic-group reality and overlying national image, these factors ease legitimization in the mainstream. East European ethnic groups, in contrast, do not have homelands contributing fundamentally to the common heritage of the western world, and in the twentieth century both they and their homelands have had to contend with the barriers raised by communism and the Cold War.

The Ukrainian Canadian appeal to the past is to medieval Rus', one of the few periods of statehood in Ukrainian history, when the Kievan princes established dynastic ties with their western counterparts and participated in European affairs as their equals. For Ukrainian Canadian mythologists, the significant event was the marriage of the daughter of the Saxon king Harold to Grand Prince Volodymyr Monomakh. This act "gave the present Queen Elizabeth II of England and Canada an infusion of Ukrainian blood."[25] If, as William L. Morton once argued, the monarchy is the tie that binds in this culturally and racially diverse country,[26] then Ukrainian Canadians can feel doubly part of the Canadian nation. The idea of Queen Elizabeth as Ukrainian, especially attractive to an insecure second generation in a sometimes unfriendly environment, does more than enhance the self-image and sense of belonging of Ukrainian Canadians. In the frontispiece of Ukrainian Canadians: Their Place and Role in Canadian Life, Paul Yuzyk uses the insinuation of a blood bond between Ukrainian Canadians and the British monarch as sovereign of Canada to open his argument for the Ukrainians' right to full partnership in the Canadian nation.[27] Yuzyk symbolizes the merger of historian and public activist on behalf of his or her group. He fathered the major school in Ukrainian Canadian historiography, with its thesis of important socioeconomic contribution and political integration coupled with cultural distinctiveness enriching the Canadian mosaic; and as a member of the Senate, he advanced the concept of the "Third Force" to balance the English and French in Canadian life.[28]

The conscious attempt to attach one's historical figures, however tenuous the link, to mainstream points of identification marks the next stage in ethnic legitimization. Not satisfied with isolated symbolic contacts, it seeks to locate a group in the traditional landmarks of Canadian national development. According to an Italian community historian, for example, the "heroines of Toronto's defence" during the 1837 Mackenzie rebellion were two Italian girls, the de Grassi sisters. "It is sad," he adds, "that no public recognition of any kind exists anywhere to mark the courageous deeds of those two little girls - deeds as noble as those of Laura Secord, Madeleine de Vercheres and other gallant women of Canadian history."[29] Rejecting the inferiority of ethnic to mainstream Canadians, he is arguing that the de Grassi sisters (and by extension Italian Canadians) have earned their rightful place in Canadian history.

An interesting episode in the ethnic search for Canadian roots is the competition among Polish, Ukrainian and Byelorussian historians for a handful of mercenaries in the de Meuron and de Watteville regiments, particularly those settling in Red River following the War of 1812.[30]

The resolution of the controversy, predicated as it is upon conflicting "corrected" spelling of soldier names and birthplaces, is unlikely. Its very existence, however, emphasizes the intensity of the need for antecedents, and it is a revealing comment on the legitimization process through founding fathers myths. The infancy of modern national consciousness in Eastern Europe at the time makes it doubtful that the soldiers were consciously Polish, Ukrainian or Byelorussian. Isolated and shadowy figures, they neither established an identifiable ethnic presence nor had organic ties with any of the three communities created by the large immigrations of the twentieth century. Suspecting that the absence of physical and spiritual continuity seriously impaired these men's ability to act as founding fathers, protagonists in the controversy tried to supply the substance necessary for a functional myth, capable of linking past and present through enduring values and group identification with mainstream themes. Victor Turek, for example, describes the Poles in Red River as "persevering colonists and valuable settlers,"[31] a phrase used to characterize the contribution of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century East European immigrants to the West's development.

Regardless of valiant efforts by Polish, Byelorussian and Ukrainian historiographies, the Slavic de Meurons in Red River cannot generate a meaningful founding fathers myth in the United Empire Loyalist and Selkirk settler traditions. Neither can the Vikings, Giovanni Caboto and Stephen Parmenius for Norwegian, Italian and Hungarian Canadians. It was the ability of Loyalist and western historiographies to demonstrate in the principles, actions and sacrifices of the past not only guidelines and inspiration for the present but also the fundamental importance of their groups, as distinct entities, to national development that gave their founding fathers myths authority. They acted simultaneously as common unifying concepts strengthening particularist identities and as tools for political ends in the larger Canadian context.

Among ethnic Canadians, Ukrainian Canadian historiography provides the closest parallel. Through the cultivation of a founding fathers myth and an interpretative framework for Ukrainian Canadian and Canadian history to serve both Ukrainian Canadians' self-image and their group objectives in the larger society, it duplicates major aspects of the United Empire Loyalist and Selkirk settler traditions. The strength of the Ukrainian Canadian founding fathers myth derives from the peculiar time and place of the great Ukrainian immigration, the prairie West in the early twentieth century, together with the peculiar sense of group identity and group purpose that has distinguished Ukrainians from other ethnic minorities in Canada.

FOOTNOTES

[1] See, for example, Beth Light and Veronica Strong-Boag, True Daughters of the North: Canadian Women's History, An Annotated Bibliography (Toronto 1980), 1-8; Ruth Pierson, "Women's History: The State of the Art in Atlantic Canada," Acadensis 7, no. 1 (Au 1977): 121-31; Margrit Eichler, "Sociology of Feminist Research in Canada," Signs 3, no. 2 (W 1977): 409-22; Alison Prentice, "Writing Women into History: The History of Women's Work in Canada," Atlantis 3, no. 2 (Sp 1978): 72-83; the special issue of Canadian Woman Studies, 3, no. 1 (1981) on woman as nationbuilder, particularly the editorial by Beth Light; Alison Prentice and Ruth Pierson, "Feminism and the Writing and Teaching of History," Atlantis 7, no. 2 (Sp 1982): 37-46; and Eliane Silverman, "Writing Canadian Women's History, 1970-1982: An Historiographical Analysis," Canadian Historical Review 63, no. 4 (D 1982): 513-33.

[2] The phrase was used to refer to the neglect of women in conventional male-dominated history, but it also describes the recent treatment of ethnic and immigrant women by mainstream women's historians in Canada; Light and Strong-Boag, True Daughters of the North, 1.

[3] The tendency to view immigrant ethnic women as an undifferentiated mass and passive objects has also been criticized in American women's history. See, for example, Maxine Sellar, "Beyond the Stereotype: A New Look at the Immigrant Woman," Journal of Ethnic Studies 3, no. 1 (Sp 1975): 59-71, which challenges this image through three non-traditional women in early twentieth-century urban America - an Italian actress, a Bohemian journalist, and a Jewish labour organizer - as well as evidence of organized activity outside the home by ordinary women.

[4] This is not to ignore ethnic groups like the Jews and Italians whose large concentrations in Quebec dictate that accommodation must consider both French and Anglo-Canadian cultures and prejudices.

[5] Lerner's seminal articles have been reissued as Gerda Lerner, The Majority Finds Its Past: Placing Women in History (New York 1979).

[6] Pierson, "Women's History," 123. Improving women's position in society as the goal of Canadian women's history is corroborated by Prentice and Pierson, "Feminism and the Writing and Teaching of History," 37-46; Light and Strong-Boag, True Daughters of the North, 6; Silverman, "Writing Canadian Women's History," 513-33; and Margaret Andrews, "Review Article: Attitudes in Canadian Women's History, 1945-1975," Journal of Canadian Studies 12, no. 4 (Su 1977): 69-78.

[7] For an example of the application of "sisterhood" to historical scholarship and the resulting disservice to ethnic and other differences among women, see the discussion of Eliane Leslau Silverman, The Last Best West: Women on the Alberta Frontier, 1880-1930 (Montreal and London 1984) in chapter 2.

[8] This is particularly true of class (the middle-class bias of early twentieth-century female reformers has been both acknowledged and addressed, for example), while regional studies by definition are conscious of variation in the female experience.

[9] Andrews, "Attitudes in Canadian Women's History," 69.

[10] On Ukrainian women, see Martha Bohachevsky-Chomiak, Feminists Despite Themselves: Women in Ukrainian Community Life, 1884-1939 (Edmonton 1988). On the consciousness among Black women of the importance of racial as well as gender issues, and their assessment of racist attitudes in the mainstream feminist movement, see, for example, Angela Y. Davis, Women, Race and Class (New York 1981).

[11] For example, in analysing Henri Bourassa's and Lionel Groulx's views on women, Susan Mann Trofimenkoff begins with the oppression and molding of women to ensure a certain type of society and not with the needs of the French Canadian nation, perceived or actual; it is Groulx's image of women that is an essential component of his nationalism and not vice versa. See her "Henri Bourassa and the Woman Question," Journal of Canadian Studies 10, no. 4 (N 1975): 3-11; and "Les femmes dans l'oeuvre de Groulx," Revue d'histoire de l'amerique francaise 32, no. 3 (décembre 1978): 385-98.

[12] The first concerted attempt to examine the experience of immigrant and ethnic women from their perspective was the collection of articles, Looking Into My Sister's Eyes: An Exploration in Women's History (Toronto 1986), edited by Jean Burnet.

[13] Feminists argue that because all women, regardless of culture, are oppressed, gender issues take precedence over issues of ethnicity or race. In The Majority Finds Its Past, Lerner focuses on race (Black/White) in the American experience.

[14] Carl Berger, The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914 (Toronto 1970), 78-108.

[15] Ibid., 108.

[16] Murray Barkley, "The Loyalist Tradition in New Brunswick: The Growth and Evolution of an Historical Myth, 1825-1914," Acadensis 4, no. 2 (Sp 1975): 3-45.

[17] Frits Pannekoek, "The Historiography of the Red River Settlement, 1830-1868," Prairie Forum 6, no. 1 (1981): 75-85.

[18] Douglas Owram, Promise of Eden: The Canadian Expansionist Move-

ment and the Idea of the West, 1856-1900 (Toronto 1980). The following discussion is based on chapters 2-4 and 6.

[19] Ibid., 214, 216.

[20] Ibid., 215-6.

[21] This is reflected in the development of their respective historiographies. Scandinavian Canadians, for example, have a weak historiographical tradition while that of Ukrainian Canadians, however its quality is judged, is strong. The comparative weakness of Chinese and Japanese historiographies, representing two groups facing not only prejudice but also institutionalized discrimination, is to be explained by the severity of their oppression, overall small numbers dispersed among widely separated communities, and the extreme sense of marginality these conditions produced. A culturally imposed sojourner mentality among early Oriental immigrants also cannot be discounted.

[22] See, for example, Gulbrand Loken, *From Fjord to Frontier: A History of the Norwegians in Canada* (Toronto 1980), 4-12; and A.V. Spada, *The Italians in Canada* (Ottawa and Montreal 1969), 8-10. The Italian mutual aid society established in Trail, British Columbia, in 1905 and named after Christopher Columbus suggests that a pioneer immigrant generation also recognized the value of symbols; the society is identified in Donald Avery, *"Dangerous Foreigners": European Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada, 1896-1932* (Toronto 1979), 46.

[23] George D. Vlassis, *The Greeks in Canada*, 2d ed. (Ottawa 1953), 79; Peter D. Chimbos, *The Canadian Odyssey: The Greek Experience in Canada* (Toronto 1980), 22, which notes without endorsing the claims that de Fuca and Columbus were Greek; David B. Quinn and Neil M. Cheshire, *The New Found Land of Stephen Parmenius: The Life and Times of an Hungarian Poet, Drowned on a Voyage from Newfoundland 1583* (Toronto 1972) and E. Pivanyi, *Hungarian American Historical Connections from Pre-Columbian Times to the End of the American Civil War* (Budapest 1927), cited in N.F. Dreisziger et al., *Struggle and Hope: The Hungarian Canadian Experience* (Toronto 1982), 26; Vladimir Wertsman, comp. and ed., *The Ukrainians in America, 1608-1975: A Chronology and Fact Book* (Dobbs Ferry 1976), 1; Andrew Gregorovich, *Chronology of Ukrainian Canadian History* (Toronto 1974), 5; and "Our People Among Founders of America," *Ukrainian Canadian* (1 Ja 1951): 6, summarizing an argument from the Soviet *Kultura i zhizn*.

[24] See Chimbos, *Canadian Odyssey*, 38-40, 157; the many photographs of classical Greece in Vlassis, *Greeks in Canada*, as well as Eric F. Gaskell's preface to the original 1942 edition, projecting the view that the Greek contribution to western civilization vicariously reflects on Greek Canadians; and Spada, *Italians in Canada*, 92-3, 145-50.

[25] Michael Czuboka, *Ukrainian Canadian, Eh?: The Ukrainians of Canada and Elsewhere as Perceived by Themselves and Others* (Winnipeg 1983), 1. See also the facsimile of a letter from the governor-general's office to the author, who had requested permission to mention the monarchy's Ukrainian blood in the Toast to the Queen at a Royal Canadian

Legion banquet (7).

[26] William L. Morton, The Canadian Identity, 2d ed. (Toronto 1972), 100-4, 145-50.

[27] Paul Yuzyk, Ukrainian Canadians: Their Place and Role in Canadian Life (Toronto 1967), frontispiece. "The Debrett, July 24, 1966," Yuzyk states, "on the occasion of the 900th anniversary of the Battle of Hastings in 1066 announced that Queen Elizabeth II descended in the 31st generation from Volodymyr, Prince of Ukraine."

[28] See, for example, Paul Yuzyk, For a Better Canada: A Collection of Selected Speeches Delivered in the Senate of Canada and at Banquets and Conferences in Various Centres Across Canada (Toronto 1973). Yuzyk's historical works are discussed in chapters 2-4.

[29] Spada, Italians in Canada, 59. Besides the status provided by the small aristocratic emigration that preceded the large peasant movement of the late nineteenth century, participation by individuals of Polish origin in not only the 1837 Rebellions but also the War of 1812 has given Polish Canadians a claim to major landmark events in Canadian history similar to that of the Italians; see, for example, Boleslaus Makowski, History and Integration of Poles in Canada (Niagara Peninsula 1967), chapters 2-3.

[30] For the Byelorussian argument, see John Sadouski, A History of the Byelorussians in Canada (Belleville 1981), 39-41; and the earlier S. Khmara, "Pershyia belaruskiia pasialentsy u Kanadze," Belaruski holas (Jl 1962), which Sadouski cites. The major Polish figures in the controversy are Mieczyslaw Haiman, Slady Polskie v Ameryce (Chicago 1938); and Victor Turek, "Poles Among the De Meuron Soldiers," Transactions of the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba III, no. 9 (1954): 53-68. Support for Ukrainian origins for the soldiers can be found in Iuliian Stechyshyn, Istoriia poselennia ukraintsiv u Kanadi (Edmonton 1975), 100-6; Michael H. Marunchak, The Ukrainian Canadians: A History, 2d ed. rev. (Winnipeg and Ottawa 1982), 25; and Paul Yuzyk's review of the Turek article in Slavica Canadiana A.D. 1954, ed. J.B. Rudnyc'kyj (Winnipeg 1955), 26. Lithuanian Canadians have also claimed these men but without the same identification with Red River; see P.R. Gaida et al., The Lithuanians in Canada (Ottawa and Toronto 1967), 21-4.

[31] Turek's statement is quoted, without comment, in Henry Radecki and Benedykt Heydenkorn, A Member of a Distinguished Family: The Polish Group in Canada (Toronto 1976), 37; the authors point out that the Polish de Meurons stayed in Red River only briefly (20). Vladimir J. Kaye and Frances Swyripa, "Colonization and Settlement," in A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada, ed. Manoly R. Lupul (Toronto 1982), 34-5, stresses the tentativeness of establishing pre-1891 Ukrainian arrivals in Canada. The inconclusiveness of the sources, however, makes such traditions once begun difficult equally to ignore or to refute.

CHAPTER II

ETHNIC UNITED EMPIRE LOYALISTS AND SELKIRK SETTLERS: THE UKRAINIAN CASE

Unlike northern and western Europeans and Americans, hailed as virtually unqualified assets to nationbuilding during the immigration boom in the early twentieth century, Ukrainians were welcomed for their brawn alone. While the social reform movement and the nation's schools undertook to ensure they did not endanger national health, political and intellectual circles debated their desirability and assimilability. The attention paid to Ukrainians compared to other newcomers in equally ambiguous positions acknowledged three interlocking factors: their numbers, their concentration in the prairie provinces in bloc settlements and their escalating group identity. In addition to political repercussions, these factors have earned Ukrainians unmatched consideration in mainstream historiography, reflecting as it has the concerns and assumptions of Anglo-Canadian society itself.[1] In turn, a persisting negative stereotype and low status rooted in their peasant origins, a restricted role in nationbuilding reluctantly conceded, and a Ukrainian consciousness fostered by the Canadian experience and events in Ukraine alike have had an impact on Ukrainian Canadian historiography. Ukrainian Canadians have reinterpreted Canadian history to stress their contribution to the country's development and redefined the Canadian nation to permit a legitimate expression of "Ukrainianness."

The essence of the argument is this. Through "their love of the soil, their tremendous capacity for work, and their courageous perseverance," the Ukrainian settlers in western Canada at the turn of the century played an incalculable role in bringing the land into production; in contrast to some immigrant groups, they laboured without government assistance, with meagre material resources on often submarginal land, and in the face of prejudice and discrimination from the host society.[2] It is the story of progress and success, subsequently extended to all walks of life. Symbolized by Wasyl Eleniak and Ivan Pylypiw, whose arrival in 1891 launched the mass Ukrainian movement to Canada, the pioneers of the turn-of-the-century peasant immigration became founding fathers.[3] In their backbreaking toil and sacrifice to introduce the prairie and parkland to the plough and to exploit mining and forest frontiers so that Canada could be great, Ukrainian Canadians had their Loyalists and Selkirk settlers. Moreover, they would use their myth with the same intensity and purpose - to demonstrate Ukrainians' uniqueness and their significance to national development. Paul Yuzyk, the myth's foremost proponent, expressed it bluntly:

> The outstanding and everlasting contribution of the Ukrainian pioneers is the bringing under cultivation of millions of acres of virgin soil in the Canadian West and the bringing of civilization and prosperity to these vast, hitherto unsettled regions. The significance of this contribution can be fathomed when a comparison is made: the Ukrainians brought under cultivation considerably more land (my estimate is approximately 10,000,000 acres) in seven decades than the French Canadians in Quebec (over 5,000,000 acres) in over 300 years. It took courage, faith, goodwill and perseverance for these humble folk to leave their native land forever and settle in an unknown wilderness to face and endure all the trials and hardships of a tough pioneering venture in order to establish a new home and a new life....Together with the British and French, the Ukrainian [sic] are builders of Western Canada and have every right to be recognized as partners.[4]

The Ukrainian nationalist elite - identified with upward mobility, the mosaic and a unified, independent non-communist Ukrainian state - has been most responsible for the group's self-perception, public image and goals. This has included the formulation and popularization of the peasant pioneer myth and progress/integration interpretation of Ukrainian Canadian history. In her provocative challenge to the complacent view of the past as a parade of "firsts" and success stories, Myrna Kostash criticizes the sons and daughters of the pioneers for whitewashing; to relieve their own marginality and second-class status, they had to make "good" Canadians of the peasants in sheepskin coats, ascribing to them prophetic vision and heroic stature and burying the unpleasant or negative. "Yuzyk's vision is simplistic and misleading," she writes:

> It belies the fact that financial security was tenuous in the extreme, that their labour was far from remunerative, that their "freedom" to an education was an anglicized one; the law was discriminatory, their non-Ukrainian neighbours were racists, their leftist political activists were persecuted; and the admonition to "work" and "thrift" applied precisely and only to the working people - the resident elite had neither to work nor to be thrifty.[5]

Kostash is undoubtedly correct to say that the peasant pioneer and integration myths were nurtured most assiduously by the Ukrainian intellectual and economic elite, particularly the generation growing up prior to the Second World War and anxious for acceptance in a country where British ancestry still counted most. The role of the educated or ambitious stratum of a disadvantaged group, denied access to power, in creating and defining its national consciousness and expectations has been analyzed in relation to other societies.[6] But it would be wrong to imply, just as Berger and Barkley insist concerning the elitist origins of the Loyalist tradition, that the Ukrainian Canadian myths were confined to this one segment of the group or that it cultivated them solely for personal gain.

First, the tradition of the crucial Ukrainian role in providing the manpower for early twentieth-century Canadian growth, and subsequent participation in all aspects of Canadian development, has percolated downward from elite origins, moved outside the nationalist circles most closely identified with it, and appealed to different generations and immigrations.[7] Kostash herself fails to reject completely the peasant pioneer myth: "Without the men and women in sheepskin coats," she states, "there would have been no prairie economy outside the Hudson's Bay Company, native hunters and trappers, and the NWMP in their forts."[8] The extent to which the myth underlies the local histories proliferating in western Canada in the 1970s and 1980s is evidence of its popularization. Nor has the traditional Left, procommunist and pro-Soviet in sympathy, been immune to its magnetism and implications. Although progressive* historiography emphasizes contribution and achievement in spite of (and limited by) continuing exploitation and discrimination, it too has adopted the major tenets of the myth to justify more equitable treatment of Ukrainian Canadians and recognition of their equal partnership in Confederation.[9]

Besides bridging the major ideological rift in the Ukrainian

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*Neither term, progressive or nationalist, satisfactorily describes the two streams in Ukrainian Canadian historiography. While used here to denote identification with upward mobility, the mosaic and an independent, non-communist Ukrainian state, "nationalist" covers a wide range of opinion. "Progressive" is the word applied by pro-Soviet, procommunist Ukrainian Canadians to their own movement and outlook; it is used here simply in a descriptive capacity and is not intended to convey or endorse their connotations.

Canadian community, the founding fathers myth has also bound past and present, in the achievements and inspiring example of the pioneers, and embraced those removed from the specific experience in which it is rooted. Ukrainian Canadians have a duty to honour, by their deeds, the struggle and sacrifice and triumph of their pioneer ancestors; only by demonstrating similar courage, determination, diligence and resourcefulness will they further their progress and follow in their footsteps as worthy Canadians.[10] The myth has also been appropriated by the third immigration, the displaced persons of the Second World War, as their ticket to legitimacy in the Canadian context and as part of their heritage as Ukrainians in Canada. This occurred in spite of the newcomers' predominant urban and Ontario orientation and frequent disdain of the Ukrainian Canadian hybrid culture built on western peasant pioneer foundations.[11] Yar Slavutych's poem, "Zavoiovnyky prerii" (The conquerors of the prairie), for example, evokes all the ingredients of the myth: Ukrainian ancestry of Red Fife wheat, Pylypiw and Eleniak, their tireless anonymous successors toiling for Canada's glory.[12] Zonia Keywan's sketch of the Ukrainian female pioneer, "Women Who Won the West," and her book Greater Than Kings, a popular overview of the rural settlement experience, reveal by their titles alone third-immigration internalization of the Ukrainian homesteading saga and its role in Canadian development.[13] The most important disciple from the third immigration is the prolific amateur historian, Michael Marunchak; within the framework of progress and socioeconomic integration coupled with cultural distinctiveness, he too utilizes a particular view of the past to press claims for Ukrainian Canadians in Confederation.[14]

The second flaw in regarding the peasant pioneer myth, with its progress/integration corollary, as the exclusive property of a second-generation elite is that it ignores the tradition's origins among the immigrants themselves in the initial period of settlement. This suggests it is not merely a device for retrospective legitimization and acceptance but expresses a genuine contemporary conviction that Ukrainians were indeed participants and partners in nationbuilding and therefore deserved treatment that recognized them as such.

The Great War not unnaturally stimulated such a view. The deliberate coupling of their physical role in nationbuilding and blood sacrifice and loyalty in two wars with wartime and other injustices to appeal to Anglo-Canadian guilt has been exploited by generations of myth-making Ukrainian Canadians to improve their situation.[15] Its genesis, however, lies with the immigrant intelligentsia of 1914-18. Ukrainians voiced their sense of betrayal at being treated as "enemy aliens" for their Austrian birthplace when they had been invited to Canada as its raw manpower, laboured on its behalf, and now demonstrated their loyalty through military service and home front commitments. Their righteous indignation aimed to sting the collective Anglo-Canadian conscience into easing not only the repressive wartime measures but also the treatment of Ukrainians in Canadian society generally.[16] The war-tinted discussion of the franchise also provoked Ukrainian anger. "Foreigners came here at the request of the English," a letter said in protest to a suggestion that the vote be denied to foreign women and revoked from foreign men; "they contributed above all to the material development of this country and therefore deserve the same rights as the English."[17]

Three years after the war, Anna Bychinska enlightened the congregation of Westminster Presbyterian Church in Winnipeg:

> Out of the thousands of Ukrainians that migrated here 20 and 30 years ago some have become wealthy, all have found a substantial livelihood but few, if any, have found the warm hand of welcome for which the human heart hopes.
>
> I have heard it admitted by men of distinction that the Ukrainians, through their labour have given to Canada a thousand times more than Canada has given them. I do not wish to argue this point, for Canada is entitled to some compensation for offering shelter to a distressed people. However, their fellow citizens of the new land have not appreciated fully the worth of the Ukrainian people.
>
> During the war the Ukrainians proved loyal to Canada. Thousands of our boys enlisted and faced death bravely for their new land. Their blood mingled with the blood of the noble Anglo-Saxons in paying the supreme sacrifice to make the world safe for democracy. Many a Ukrainian mother's heart is crushed with sorrow now but she bears her loss bravely and in silence because of the honest pride that her boy was not afraid to fight for his country and for his humble mother.
>
> Despite all this we scarcely heard a word of the Ukrainian boys and what they did for Canada....
>
> The chief sorrow to the Ukrainian is the fact that he is continually reminded that he is only a "foreigner" in Canada. He is forced to regard himself as merely a sojourner who may be turned out of the country at any reasonable or unreasonable provocation. Despite the years of toil and much sacrifice the Ukrainian does not feel that he receives consideration on the part of his fellow Canadians.[18]

That Ukrainian arguments struck a nerve in Anglo-Canadian circles confirms the tensions in the Anglo-Canadian dilemma of wanting Ukrainian muscle but not Ukrainian values, of seeking Ukrainians as immigrants but being reluctant to extend the rights of citizenship. Combining a sense of guilt and "British fair play" with pragmatism, individual Anglo-Canadians echoed Ukrainian condemnation of the unjust treatment of the so-called Austrians, Canada's eagerly solicited manpower, during the war.[19]

The fact that the peasant pioneer myth is rooted in the immigrant generation itself cannot be overstressed. Settling where and when they did - the prairie West, Canada's key to greatness, at the moment of its unfolding - made Ukrainians truly feel that they were participants and partners in nationbuilding.[20] The right to ownership of the land undoubtedly did much to give peasants a sense of belonging, while their leaders absorbed the propaganda and excitement concerning the great adventure taking place in the West and saw Ukrainians as part of it. Writing in a Galician newspaper after a sojourn in Canada, a Greek Catholic priest told his readers how their former compatriots had built their new homeland: they had felled the forest, tamed the land, brought "civilization and culture to the Canadian wilderness," fed the country with their wheat, given their lives for its railways and extracted the resources that would make it wealthy. History, the priest concluded, "will not be able to deny the Ukrainians recognition."[21]

A comparison of Canadian ethnic historiographies demonstrates the extent of Ukrainians' identification with nationbuilding together with the importance of time and place as its source. Other groups associated with western settlement at the turn of the century, like the Scandinavians, also have a sense of nationbuilding, although without the mythological superstructure erected by the Ukrainians.[22] Nationbuilding is much less evident in the historiography of groups like the Hungarians, Greeks and Jews - either concentrated in central Canada, overwhelmingly urban, more recently immigrant, few in number and widely dispersed, or with a tradition of marginality.[23] Groups like the Mennonites and Hutterites, historically outside Canadian society, seldom tie their pasts to nationbuilding.[24]

A Ukrainian-Jewish comparison in particular shows the depth of the Ukrainian Canadian identification with Canada. Jewish and Ukrainian Canadians share a diaspora mentality, although the Ukrainian is less well defined, and their historiographies have been highly conscious of Jewishness and Ukrainianness, respectively. Traditionally, Jewish Canadians have perceived their experience if not as an extension of the American one at least as a continual comparison with it, and as part of an international Jewish community.[25] Ukrainian Canadian historiography has never thought to do anything similar, in spite of a long history of interaction with Ukrainians in the United States and concern for Ukraine.[26] The peasant pioneer myth and everything that flows from it cannot be dismissed simply as artificial or self-serving propaganda; it is a genuine expression of the peculiar circumstances of the Ukrainian Canadian experience.

At the same time Ukrainians have used their myth to advantage. Western historians and public figures appropriated expansionist rhetoric to demand equality in Confederation. In doing this, they placed central Canadian expansionists in a predicament. How could they, without appearing chauvinistic, insist that the West was crucial to national greatness and yet deny its claim, using their own arguments, of its importance and therefore right to full partnership? The Ukrainian founding fathers myth erected by Ukrainian community spokespersons and historians on the turn-of-the-century pioneers in the prairie provinces poses a similar problem. By rooting their argument for due recognition in their role in the opening of the West, Canada's great romance in nationbuilding and road to world stature, Ukrainian Canadians have made it increasingly difficult for Anglo-Canadians, as the dominant group, to deny their claims to full partnership.

Because the West has been seen as pivotal to the making of twentieth-century Canada, the people giving it its form and character have been of special interest to nationbuilders and historians. In the period of settlement it was precisely because they were participants, and in large concentrated numbers, in the endeavour that would spell national success or failure that Ukrainians were subjected to such scrutiny. Increasing willingness in subsequent mainstream historiography to accord Ukrainian Canadians their wanted recognition in building the West, and through it the nation, rests on several factors.

One is retrospective guilt and admission of the nativism that combined with greed for manpower to make life difficult for many non-Anglo-Canadian groups.[27] Second, the gradual assimilation and integration of Ukrainians into Canadian life narrowed sociocultural and economic distances in real terms and made remaining differences less threatening psychologically. The gradual acceptance of the mosaic, especially since the Second World War, reflects the contradictory influences of integration and assimilation and of pressures by groups like the Ukrainians, increasingly self-confident in their claims to partnership. Lastly, and returning to the idea of the West's role in Canadian history, the incorporation of the Ukrainian Canadian saga of toil and sacrifice at the turn of the century, particularly in the prairie provinces, into mainstream historiography and the popular consciousness is a direct product of the peculiar time and place of the great Ukrainian immigration.

Mainstream legitimization of the Ukrainian Canadian experience through its pioneer and progress myths has many expressions. An Edmonton road, for example, bears the name Eleniak; Ivan Pylypiw has joined Louis Riel and Lord Selkirk as heroes of western development in elementary school curricula; William Kurelek has been elevated to an "all-Canadian" artist, his paintings of Ukrainian prairie homestead life regarded as a reflection of Canada in a manner reminiscent of the Group of Seven. Historian Ramsay Cook says of Kurelek that "one of the great achievements of his art [in depicting the settling of the new land] was that it gave recognition to the part Ukrainian Canadians played, their sacrifices and their achievements."[28] Vilni Zemli/Free Lands, James. G. MacGregor's popular history of the Ukrainian settlement of Alberta, goes further. "In many ways," the book's dust jacket proclaims, the Ukrainians' experience "became the history of the Canadian West itself." Vilni Zemli is in the Yuzyk tradition, the story of the triumphant climb upward from "illiterate peasants...[to] Rhodes Scholars, university professors, judges, mayors of very large Canadian cities, and...cabinet ministers."[29]

In Pierre Berton's The Promised Land, Ukrainians move to the centre of the national epic. His is a book, Berton begins, "about dreams and illusions, escape and survival, triumph and despair":

> There are grafters in this tale and hard-nosed politicians and civic boosters with dollar signs in their eyes; but there are also idealists, dreamers and visionaries. And since these last are in the minority it is best to start with the first of them, a Slavic professor of agriculture named Josef Oleskow, who saw in the untrammelled Canadian West a haven for the downtrodden of Eastern Europe.[30]

A member of the Galician Ukrainian intelligentsia who approached the Canadian government on behalf of the impoverished Ukrainian peasantry, Josef Oleskow after 1895 helped transform the trickle of immigrants in the wake of Pylypiw and Eleniak into a flood. In Ukrainian Canadian mythology, he completes the trinity of founding fathers.

Ramsay Cook leaves little doubt that it is William Kurelek's regionalism rather than his ethnicity that marks him as a "Canadian" painter. Put another way, the ethnic component of Kurelek's work is

"Canadian" because it relates to a period and area that strike a responsive chord in the mainstream consciousness as part of its history and can be made to transcend the specific Ukrainian experience it depicts. "Kurelek's imagination," Cook writes, "was rooted in his region and that is what makes him so identifiably Canadian in a country where culture has always had regional roots."[31] This separation of the regional (prairie) from the ethnic (Ukrainian) as the identifiably Canadian in Kurelek's work is in keeping with the characteristics of mainstream historical scholarship as over the past quarter century it has moved toward integrating the Ukrainian experience into its history. It has been integration with qualification.

Limited original research, together with unfamiliarity with Ukrainian and Ukrainian Canadian history that hinders evaluation of the bias or facts of a source, are both causes and measures of the superficiality of integration. Topical studies by mainstream historians, by including Ukrainians within their frames of reference, have done much to put developments in Ukrainian Canadian history into perspective. But simple recapitulation of existing and basic information does not provide new insights or knowledge about Ukrainians, either separately or as part of something larger.[32] Mainstream historians also persist in resurrecting problems Ukrainian Canadian historiography has long laid to rest. For example, to speak of "Ukrainians, Galicians and Ruthenians" as "individual foreign groups," as Nancy Sheehan does in her discussion of the foreign work of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) in Alberta and Saskatchewan, perpetuates the Anglo-Canadian confusion over Ukrainian nomenclature characteristic of the period of initial contact. Consulting the Ukrainian immigrant press for the period would also have prevented the academic perpetuation of an erroneous WCTU prejudice, that the Ukrainian clergy "did not take the lead in denouncing alcohol as evil."[33]

On the other side of the coin, uncritical adoption of such tenets of the Yuzyk tradition as the great Ukrainian love of education and religiosity reinforces the Ukrainian community's positive self-image without considering its accuracy.[34] It also reflects the tendency still to deal in stereotypes. Bishop Lloyd's label of "dirty, ignorant and garlic-smelling" has been dropped, but the "thrifty, industrious and eager to learn" of Clifford Sifton (and the peasant pioneer myth itself) remains, now augmented by the "colourful" of the Canadian mosaic. Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook's A Nation Transformed, for example, abounds in stereotypes in spite of its sensitivity to Ukrainian community structures and life outside mainstream society. Its Ukrainian immigrants are "men with strong backs and strong wives...full of the ingenuity and courage that made a successful western pioneer"; and its choice of Ukrainian Christmas, Easter eggs and onion-domed churches to denote the ethnic lifestyle anticipates the multicultural symbols of a latter day.[35]

It is unrealistic to expect historians for whom ethnics are of only secondary interest to immerse themselves in Ukrainian and other ethnic histories. In one sense, the perpetuation of stereotypes, unquestioned but unsubstantiated generalizations and interpretations, and factual inaccuracies is not surprising. But that they characterize the approach to even basic information and familiar outlines suggests a casual attitude toward integration of the ethnic experience.

Attitudes in Canadian women's history illustrate well the continuing marginality and selective integration of the ethnic experience. "Many of the sources," Beth Light and Veronica Strong-Boag state in the introduction to their annotated bibliography, True Daughters of the North,

> tell a great deal about precisely what it entailed for the average "Janey Canuck" or "Jeanne Gagnepetit" to rear a family, settle in [illegible] strange country, or perform unfamiliar tasks, whether in New France, nineteenth-century Nova Scotia, or the prairie and northern frontiers in the twentieth century.[36]

This careful balance of region, period and English-French makes no provision for women of other national origins. While the compilers argue that the application of male standards of significance traditionally relegated female phenomena to "second-rate" status, their own application of English-French standards of significance does the same for ethnic female phenomena. The editorial decision to include "Les Ursulines de Gaspé: Un demi-siècle de présence, 1924-1974," for example, and not To Serve Is To Love, an account of the Ukrainian Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate in Canada since 1902, implies that the activities of French nuns eclipse in value of those of their ethnic sisters.[37] Of the handful of entries referring to the specific experiences of ethnic women, few concern their lives as members of ethno-cultural or -religious communities, as the compilers elected topics within the traditional mainstream purview: homesteading, work, immigrant adjustment, assimilation.[38] Reducing the experience of ethnic women to issues familiar and historically important to the dominant "national" culture confines them to their relationship with the larger society to the neglect of their relationship with the ethnic group.

The selective integration of the experience of ethnic women into Canadian women's history also characterizes the approach to the ethnic experience in general. The aspects of Ukrainian Canadian history that have been incorporated into mainstream accounts, and accepted as part of national or regional history, are those that correspond to traditional mainstream Anglo-Canadian interests and concerns - the prairie frontier, immigrant adjustment and assimilation, the economy. They have usually been approached from such a perspective as well. This raises serious questions concerning the legitimization not only of ethnic history but of ethnicity itself in Canadian society.

The relative absence of ethnics after and outside the period of early twentieth-century immigration and western settlement, together with their treatment within this framework, testify to the tenacity of traditional mainstream perspectives in determining both the content and the manner of the integration of the ethnic experience into Canada's past. On the one hand, historians have focused on what are perceived as the major events of nationbuilding, events in which Canadians regardless of background participated in common, and have emphasized their universal and unifying features. On the other hand, historians have simultaneously approached immigration and settlement from the viewpoint of the Anglo-Canadian group whose elites dictated the outlook and form of Canadian society in the opening decades of this century. Ethnic responses to immigration and settlement, or to the programs Anglo-Canadians designed to uplift and "Canadianize" non-British immigrants and the attitudes these programs represented, have been seldom considered.[39]

Canadian women's history, in its focus on mainstream WASP women and the "common woman," is a case in point. Ethnic women, particularly on the prairies during the settlement period, appear in the literature as part of an undifferentiated mass in an emphasis on shared female experiences and problems. Or, they appear as the objects of concern to the "real" women being studied - WASP suffragists, prohibitionists, social workers, missionaries, educators. Nancy Sheehan's article on the WCTU and the foreign population in the West goes one step further. In spite of its promise to discuss "foreign" as well as Anglo-Canadian women, "foreigners" of either sex are irrelevant except as vehicles for demonstrating differences between the WCTU in Alberta and Saskatchewan and, in the failure of both philosophies, their limitations. They failed because

> to have gone outside the organizational, charitable and financial role, and to campaign personally in immigrant communities would have extended their maternal role beyond their ability and experience. The WCTU was ultimately hampered not simply by an unpopular mandate, but by its domestic, middle-class experience and by what its membership and society in general considered women's proper role to be.[40]

The "foreigner" used to illustrate how sex-prescribed social roles restricted the effectiveness of middle-class WASP female reformers working for the national good is neither "women helping women," the title of Sheehan's article, nor recognition of ethnics as actors in the Canadian experience.

Eliane Silverman's The Last Best West: Women on the Alberta Frontier, 1880-1930, based on oral testimony to probe women's personal private realm as well as work and community lives,[41] reveals the pitfalls of automatically extending findings and conclusions concerning the attitudes, experiences and behaviour of WASP or mainstream women to ethnic women. It equally illustrates how "common womanhood" as a conceptual principle can obscure ethnic and other differences dividing women. The problem emerges in Silverman's framework for women's movement to the

Alberta frontier. These women, she writes, "or their mothers or grandmothers had witnessed the changes we know as the Industrial Revolution." The Industrial Revolution had brought ready-made clothes and washing machines. It had cast some women into the marketplace - into poorly paid, unskilled jobs - while leaving their household responsibilities untouched; it had cast others - the rising middle class, no longer economically indispensable to family survival - into a new role as "angels of the hearth," all the while exploiting their virtuous nurturing image to expand their public sphere. But in the West, Silverman continues,

> women were once again needed as economically productive people. In face of the need to ensure if not prosperity, at least survival for a recently arrived family, most women could hardly hope for leisure and protection. The myth of the lady crumbled, inappropriate to the demands of a west which must be transformed from merely a geography to a society. Women seized chances, or responded out of necessity, to act, to do more than adorn the hearth or their men's status.[42]

To present this as other than the experience of women claiming a western European heritage, and overwhelmingly of middle-class WASP women, is a serious distortion. The mothers and grandmothers of women emigrating from the Austro-Hungarian empire, for example, and some of the women themselves, were products not of the Industrial Revolution but of serfdom. East European peasant women on the Canadian prairies had to learn not to manage without washing and sewing machines but that such labour-saving devices existed.[43] Similarly, they had to be made aware of the ideal of the Victorian lady before they could sustain or discard it for its relevance to their lives. To conclude arbitrarily, as Silverman does, that in light of the outdoor work performed by women, "no exquisite myth of female delicacy could be maintained,"[44] is to consider such a myth common immigrant baggage or to dismiss as inconsequential other traditions molding women before arrival in Alberta. Homogenization to serve common womanhood has also downplayed ethnic differences among women. To say only, for example, that domestics "bemoaned the low pay and hard work, but also saw the experience as a way of learning to do things 'in the new way'"[45] is to ignore not only the class hierarchy but also that many "foreign" domestics adopted the new way at the insistence of female employers convinced of Anglo-Canadian superiority and at the expense of tensions with their own mothers. The peculiar and often contradictory pressures on non-British female immigrants, together with the processes familiarizing them with Anglo-Canadian values concerning their sex, are part of women's frontier experience in the western provinces.

The neglect of the immigrant and ethnic perspective suggests that mainstream attitudes toward active and positive participation by ethnics in Canadian history are being modified slowly and that contemporary historians, consciously or unconsciously, continue to share the bias of early twentieth-century nationbuilders. In his history of Saskatchewan, for example, John Archer discusses "immigrant religions" as a problem for Anglo-Canadian Protestants and the French-dominated Roman Catholic Church; they are not institutions, traditions and faiths in their own right.[46] In his social history of pre-war Winnipeg, Alan Artibise defines the issue as "The Immigrant Problem," justifying his approach with the following:

> That the dominant group believed Winnipeg (and Canada) was, and should remain, a British country meant that the concept of cultural pluralism (or a cultural mosaic), used so often to describe Canadian society in later years, was not even contemplated in Winnipeg during this period. Rather, the charter

> group was determined to follow the melting pot approach of their southern neighbours, and it was the English majority who were to provide the recipe and stoke the fire. It matters not that in subsequent years it was found that the English majority's approach to assimilation based primarily on the language aspect, did not produce a "Canadian" culture. The important point is that through the period the attempt to achieve the goal of a unified society was paramount in the minds of the English majority in Winnipeg.[47]

It is impossible to quarrel with this as the framework for analyzing the thoughts and actions of the Anglo-Canadian elite of the time. But surely if, as Artibise admits, Canada became a pluralistic society, then the genesis of that pluralism and its early and continuing expression merit as much recognition and serious attention in historical scholarship as the original charter group's efforts to prevent them.

Rarely, except briefly during the bilingual schools and First World War crises, are Ukrainians examined or presented as an increasingly complex community with dynamics and prejudices of its own, which responded to Anglo-Canadian attitudes and measures affecting it and contributed its own views to the debate on nationbuilding and the Ukrainian role. Yet Ukrainians were never either blind to their ambivalent status and the prejudice toward them or meekly acquiescent. They retorted angrily, for example, in the English as well as the Ukrainian press, to their portrayal in Ralph Connor's immensely popular novel, The Foreigner, and to charges by WCTU women that Ukrainians routinely sold their fourteen-year-old daughters to the highest bidder.[48] If immigrant perspectives like these are not made as much a part of scholarly discussions of early twentieth-century "Canadianization" as the opinions of Ralph Connor and the WCTU, then the writing of Canadian history preserves the "we-they" approach of an earlier generation.

The second sign of the reluctance to accept ethnic pluralism as a legitimate feature of Canadian life is the general indifference to ethnic phenomena once the "immigrant problem" of the early twentieth century is no longer an issue. Ukrainian activities on behalf of Ukrainian-language education, for example, are presumed part of Canadian history before 1916 when intertwined with Canadianization and the Manitoba Schools Question, but the subsequent bursa movement, as a Ukrainian community phenomenon, is not. Ukrainian Canadian communism as an economic response to the Depression is part of Canadian history, but Ukrainian Canadian communism in its relationship with the Ukrainian Canadian community and Ukraine is not. The Ukrainian Canadian community itself, as something self-contained and self-perpetuating, interacting with yet outside the mainstream, is not part of Canadian history. The aspects of the ethnic experience on the near side of the hyphen remain the preserve of ethnics and ethnic historians.

At the same time, the current interest in Anglo-Canadian nativism and assimilation programs[49] signals an encouraging trend. Mainstream historians have contended that the new research will force a revolutionary reappraisal of the country's past, making "nonsense of Canadian claims to racial toleration and painless assimilation" and "evol[ution] more or less harmoniously as a multicultural society."[50] Both surprising and significant is their apparent conviction not only that Canadians believe this to be their heritage but that it was so in fact. This was never the case if, and it is an important if, "Canadians" includes ethnics. In Ukrainian Canadian historiography, even adherents of the Yuzyk tradition relate the peasant pioneer and progress myths to initial prejudice and a negative image, if only to refute them, while progressives have always stressed exploitation and discrimination by a nativist

Anglo-Canadian society. However much ethnic historians might laud the mosaic and downplay the unpleasant in their histories, they have not been unaware of another truth.

The discovery now by mainstream historians of racism and intolerance in their own past, and the willingness to subject these phenomena to scrutiny, represents a shift in attitude toward nationbuilding and ethnic participation. It could occur only after historians no longer shared the views of Anglo-conformists, for it questioned an image of Canada long sacred to the mainstream and passed moral judgment on the actions of WASP Canadians in its service. Perhaps only now could a None Is Too Many, Irving Abella and Harold Troper's unsparing examination of interwar Canadian anti-semitism and indifference to the plight of European Jewry,[51] have been written within the mainstream without presenting too great a challenge to its prejudices and self-perceptions. Perhaps too there is a parallel between the Yuzyk tradition and the traditional mainstream in that there were limits to the "truth" permitted about the past when the issues and sentiments involved were too alive. Moreover, if the mainstream can now confront and explode its comfortable view of the past, so too can ethnic Canadians theirs.[52] The presence of iconoclasts in both ethnic and mainstream historiographies paves the way not only for a more honest approach to their respective pasts but also for meaningful integration of the ethnic experience into national life.

This said, how is integration to be accomplished rationally and coherently within an interpretative framework for Canadian history? The superficiality of the present incorporation of the ethnic experience into mainstream history, restricted in time and place and qualified by Anglo-Canadian criteria, indicates that it has not been accompanied by a serious statement of principle concerning ethnic pluralism. There has been no reinterpretation of the structure of Canadian history based on a definition of the Canadian nation that admits ethnics (with hyphenated identities and profiles) as full participants in the Canadian experience. In the final analysis, the question becomes one of defining the Canadian mosaic. Are the non-British and non-French to have a place in Canadian life that reflects and recognizes their many particularities, as complex and changing as the general society itself? Or are they to be confined to their contribution to traditional landmarks of nationbuilding identified by the dominant Anglo-Canadian element and to their role in the events that Canadians share in common?

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The Ukrainian peasant pioneer and progress myths with their qualified acceptance outside the group through compatibility with traditional national themes emphasize the assimilative dimension of the Ukrainian Canadian experience. That the Ukrainian community and Ukrainian community history have been and remain less palatable to mainstream society and historiography[53] is due to the peculiar Ukrainian definition of the mosaic and purpose behind seeking legitimization through group myths. The reason why Ukrainians have promoted a concept of Canada that acknowledges their special contribution and role, and have lobbied vigorously for an official multiculturalism policy to service what they perceive as their special needs, lies in the final parallel between the Ukrainian and the Loyalist and Selkirk settler traditions - their sense of mission.

FOOTNOTES

[1] This is not to ignore contemporary and persisting interest in other immigrant groups of dubious desirability, like the Doukhobors and Orientals, although their treatment in mainstream historiography has been more sporadic and localized. Fascination with the Doukhobors was fed by the exotic and sensational; see, for example, Simma Holt, *Terror in the Name of God: The Story of the Sons of Freedom Doukhobors* (Toronto 1966). Anti-Oriental sentiment was both racial and economic; see, for example, Charles H. Young and Helen R.Y. Reid, *The Japanese Canadians* (Toronto 1938).

[2] Paul Yuzyk, *The Ukrainians in Manitoba: A Social History* (Toronto 1953), 52, 40-5. The emphasis on industry, thrift and sacrifice has a parallel in the Loyalist tradition which demanded that the Loyalists be regarded as a "superior, cultured and elevated class of men"; Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914* (Toronto 1970), 99. A major weakness of my historiographical survey, *Ukrainian Canadians: A Survey of Their Portrayal in English-Language Works* (Edmonton 1978) is its failure to appreciate sufficiently or to pursue the implications of Ukrainian Canadian mythmaking.

[3] Eleniak has overshadowed Pylypiw in Ukrainian Canadian mythology. He lived to age ninety-seven and in 1947 was the fourth Canadian to receive a citizenship certificate, symbolically significant to Ukrainian Canadians as a sign of official acceptance and legitimization; see, for example, M.H. Ponich, "Wasyl Eleniak: Father of Ukrainian Settlers in Canada," *Alberta Historical Review* 4, no. 3 (Su 1956): 17-8. Adherents of the peasant pioneer myth have a second symbol in a seed of wheat from Galicia, preceding Ukrainians to Canada, that was the ancestor of the early-maturing Red Fife that made large-scale wheat production on the prairies feasible; see, for example, Isydore Hlynka, *The Other Canadians: Selected Articles from the Column of 'Ivan Harmata' Published in the 'Ukrainian Voice'* (Winnipeg 1981), 118-20; John Weir, "Emphasize Ukrainian Contribution," Ukrainian Canadian (15 My 1956): 9; and Vera Lysenko, *Men in Sheepskin Coats: A Study in Assimilation* (Toronto 1947), 264-5. Italian Canadians also have a wheat myth; see A.V. Spada, *The Italians in Canada* (Ottawa and Montreal 1969), 92.

[4] Paul Yuzyk, *Ukrainian Canadians: Their Place and Role in Canadian Life* (Toronto 1967), 11-2; see also his "75th Anniversary of Ukrainian Settlement in Canada," *Ukrainian Review* 14, no. 1 (Sp 1967): 81.

[5] Myrna Kostash, All of Baba's Children (Edmonton 1977), 30-1. A wish to bury that which presents the ethnic group in a poor light is not peculiar to Ukrainian Canadians; see, for example, the remarks by novelist Rudy Wiebe concerning the Mennonite community in Jars Balan, ed., Identifications: Ethnicity and the Writer in Canada (Edmonton 1982), 76-7.

[6] See, for example, Fernand Ouellet, Lower Canada, 1791-1840: Social Change and Nationalism, trans. Patricia Claxton (Toronto 1980); Kenneth McRoberts and Dale Posgate, Quebec: Social Change and Political Crisis, rev. ed. (Toronto 1980); and Bohdan Krawchenko, Social Change and National Consciousness in Twentieth-Century Ukraine (London 1985).

[7] For an indication of the widespread popularity of the myth in nationalist circles, see the following: Ukrainian Canadian Committee, First All-Canadian Congress of Ukrainians in Canada (Winnipeg 1943), 178; Leonid Biletskyi, Ukrainski pionery v Kanadi, 1891-1951 (Winnipeg 1951), 94-5; M.H. Marunchak, V zustrichi z ukrainskymy pioneramy Alberty, 2d ed. (Winnipeg 1965), 5-6; Michael Luchkovich, "The Achievements of Ukrainian Pioneers in Alberta," in Propamiatna knyha: Ukrainskyi katolytskyi soiuz - Ukrainskyi narodnyi dim, 1906-1965, ed. Mykhailo Khomiak (Edmonton [1966]), 430-5; S. Semczuk, Centennial of Canada and 75 Years of Ukrainian Catholic Church (Winnipeg 1967), 5-7; B.L. Korchinski, "Ukrainian Pioneers," in From Dreams to Reality: A History of the Ukrainian Senior Citizens of Regina and District, 1896-1976 (Regina 1977), 178-83; and Ukrainian Community Development Committee, Prairie Region, Building the Future: Ukrainian Canadians in the 21st Century, A Blueprint for Action (Edmonton 1986), 2-10. The myth's use in the last document is particularly significant as the report is both a blueprint for action and a political statement, arguing for official Canadian support of special Ukrainian needs.

[8] Kostash, All of Baba's Children, 17.

[9] See, in particular, Association of United Ukrainian Canadians and Workers Benevolent Association, A Tribute to Our Ukrainian Pioneers in Canada's First Century (Winnipeg 1966), 1, 15-8, 42, 48, 54-6, 66-7, 73-6, 100. The ideas of the peasant pioneer myth form the underlying assumptions of the works of Peter Krawchuk, the major figure in Ukrainian progressive historiography: see Petro Kravchuk, Na novii zemli: Storinky z zhyttia, borotby i tvorchoi pratsi kanadskykh ukraintsiv (Toronto 1958), 88-91, 101-7, 379-81; and his Vazhki roky (Toronto 1968), 100-3. For examples of the peasant pioneer myth in the pro-Soviet, pro-communist Ukrainian Canadian, see 1 Oc 1947, 15 Ja 1948, 1 Oc 1950, 15 My 1955, 1 Jl 1955, 15 My 1956, 1 S 1966, Mr 1978, Ap 1978, S 1980, D 1980.

[10] See, for example, Ukrainian Canadian Committee, First All-Canadian Congress of Ukrainians in Canada, 178; Luchkovich, "The Achievements of Ukrainian Pioneers in Alberta," 435; Korchinski, "Ukrainian Pioneers," 183; and Association of United Ukrainian Canadians and Workers Benevolent Association, Tribute to Our Ukrainian Pioneers, 78.

[11] See Manoly R. Lupul, ed., Visible Symbols: Cultural Expression Among Canada's Ukrainians (Edmonton 1984). The proceedings of a conference examining material culture, art, music, dance and the sociology of symbols among Ukrainian Canadians, the book brings out differences in opinion within the Ukrainian Canadian community concerning peasant culture and Ukrainian "high" culture. While it would be incorrect to say that individual attitudes correspond exactly to the immigrant wave represented, the relationship between the two is nonetheless clear.

[12] In Iar Slavutych, Zavoiovnyky prerii, 3d ed. rev. (Edmonton 1984), 5. In his "Troie" (22-5), John (English), Jean (French) and Ivan (Ukrainian) come to western Canada, the first two to be quickly bored and leave, Ivan to stay; then, after he had laboured to break the virgin soil, John and Jean "returned...to carry the empire's name." Slavutych's pioneer imagery is decidedly male. The pioneer poetry appearing periodically in the women's press, especially since the Second World War, is more conscious of the female experience.

[13] Zonia Keywan, "Women Who Won the West," Branching Out (N-D 1975): 17-9; and her Greater Than Kings (Montreal 1977). Keywan is the daughter of displaced persons, both European-trained professionals already removed from the peasant milieu.

[14] See, for example, Michael H. Marunchak, The Ukrainian Canadians: A History, 2d ed. rev. (Winnipeg and Ottawa 1982), 27, 73-7, 85, 93-6, 312-5, 349-50, 726-31, 873-6; see also 726-30 in the original publication (1970), omitted from the second revised edition. Although more Ukrainian oriented, Marunchak in many respects inherited Paul Yuzyk's mantle as the latter passed from historian to politician.

[15] Wartime loyalty and blood sacrifice are essential components of the Ukrainian Canadian myth, part of the justification for equal partnership in Confederation. Chinese and Japanese traditions form striking parallels. They too evoke loyalty and blood sacrifice in two world wars, despite harsh legal discrimination and social impediments, to argue for the "right to rights" and their due niche in the Canadian experience. See, for example, Roy Ito, We Went to War: The Story of the Japanese Canadians Who Served During the First and Second World Wars (Stittsville 1984), especially 284-6; B. Chan, Gold Mountains: The Chinese in the New World (Vancouver 1983), 142-7; and Edgar Wickberg, ed., From China to Canada: A History of the Chinese Communities in Canada (Toronto 1982), 119, 188, 200-1.

[16] See, for example, the "Address to the Canadian People" adopted at a mass meeting in Winnipeg, which demanded an end to enemy-alien status, including internment, because of the blood sacrifice of Ukrainian volunteers on the battlefields of France; Winnipeg Free Press (17 Jl 1916): 9. D.R., "Za narod," Kanadyiskyi rusyn (14 N 1917): 4, notes how Ukrainians' labour building Canada had been repaid with the abolition of bilingual schools, the War-Time Elections Act and charges of disloyalty.

[17] Petro Shcherba, "Chy dobre, shcho airyshski baby interesuiutsia

namy?" Kanadiiskyi farmer (9 Mr 1917): 3; see also the earlier editorial, "Holosy pro nas v angliiski presi," Kanadiiskyi farmer (2 F 1917): 4.

[18] Anna Bychinsky, "The Ukrainians in Canada," Kanadiiskyi ranok (17 My 1921): 4.

[19] The Ukrainian press was quick to publicize such individuals. See, for example, "Nepotribnyi strakh," Kanadiiskyi farmer (29 N 1918): 4; "Hovórim iak narod," Kanadiiskyi farmer (21 F 1919): 3; "Zlochyn proty tsyvilizatsii," Kanadiiskyi farmer (28 F 1919): 4; "Angliiets v oboroni chyzhentsiv," Kanadiiskyi farmer (7 Mr 1919): 5, 10; and John A. Cormie, "Ukrainians and Other Canadians," Kanadiiskyi ranok (17 My 1921): 4. Significantly, this flurry of defence of the foreigner came after the war, and more than one author discouraged ill-treatment or deportation on the grounds that Canada could not afford to lose the manpower.

[20] Their role in the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway provides Chinese Canadians with a similar link to the vital ventures of Canadian nationbuilding. That they have not exploited or identified with it to the extent of the Ukrainians reflects the factors of discrimination, small numbers, scattered communities, marginality and a sojourner mentality mentioned earlier. The periodization of Chinese Canadian history attests not to identification with Canadian nationbuilding but to the group's experience as outsiders; see W.E. Willmott, "Approaches to the Study of the Chinese in British Columbia," BC Studies 4 (Sp 1970): 42-3. Nevertheless, there is a sense of injustice at legalized second-class status when Chinese Canadians have helped build the country; see Wickberg, From China to Canada, 24, 145.

[21] E. Krasitskyi, "Oselia Kuks Krik," Kanadiiskyi ukrainets (3 Jl 1929): 5 (reprinted from Ukrainskyi emigrant).

[22] See, for example, Gulbrand Loken, From Fjord to Frontier: A History of the Norwegians in Canada (Toronto 1980); and W. Kristjanson, The Icelandic People in Manitoba: A Manitoba Saga (Winnipeg 1965).

[23] See, for example, Peter D. Chimbos, The Canadian Odyssey: The Greek Experience in Canada (Toronto 1980); N.F. Dreisziger et al., Struggle and Hope: The Canadian Hungarian Experience (Toronto 1982); and M. Weinfeld, W. Shaffir and I. Cotler, eds., The Canadian Jewish Mosaic (Toronto 1981).

[24] See, in particular, the two-volume history by Frank H. Epp, Mennonites in Canada, 1787-1920: The History of a Separate People (Toronto 1974) and Mennonites in Canada, 1920-1940: A People's Struggle for Survival (Toronto 1982). In the foreword to the second volume, Epp defines the theme of the first book as "the Mennonite search for a measure of separation from Canadian and other secular societies" and that of the second as "the struggle to survive despite the failure to maintain the traditional physical or geographical separation" (x).

[25] Recent revisionist Jewish Canadian historiography has attempted to distance the Jewish Canadian experience from the American and demonstrate the peculiar influences of the Canadian environment on its distinct evolution. See, for example, Weinfeld, Shaffir and Cotler, The Canadian Jewish Mosaic; and G. Tulchinsky, "The Contours of Canadian Jewish History," Journal of Canadian Studies 17, no. 4 (W 1982-3): 46-56.

[26] Explaining many of the differences between American and Canadian Jews as the result of Canada's peculiar political culture, Tulchinsky suggests that if one can generalize from the Jewish Canadian experience, Canada's uniqueness must be considered in understanding the development of groups like the Ukrainians; Tulchinsky, "The Contours of Canadian Jewish History," 55. What should be realized, however, is that Ukrainian Canadians have always perceived their history in terms of the peculiarities of Canadian history and not as a blueprint of the Ukrainian American experience.

[27] See, for example, John Hawkes, The Story of Saskatchewan and Its People, vol. 2 (Chicago 1924), 681-2.

[28] Ramsay Cook, "William Kurelek: A Prairie Boy's Visions," Journal of Ukrainian Studies 5, no. 1 (Sp 1980): 39.

[29] James G. MacGregor, Vilni Zemli/Free Lands: The Ukrainian Settlement of Alberta (Toronto 1969), 5-6; see also 260-1, 269-70.

[30] Pierre Berton, The Promised Land: Settling the West, 1896-1914 (Toronto 1984), 1. Ukrainians and Doukhobors, the two traditional groups of Anglo-Canadian concern, dominate the parade of non-British immigrants seeking a new life (see "The Sheepskin People" and "The Spirit Wrestlers"), but their stories are an integral part of the settlement experience. Berton's account of the Ukrainians is sympathetic if not always accurate.

[31] Cook, "William Kurelek," 42; see also 48, where Cook reiterates Kurelek's greatness as a prairie painter by way of conclusion.

[32] See, for example, Alan Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth (Montreal 1975); and Neil Sutherland, Children in English-Canadian Society: Framing the Twentieth-Century Consensus (Toronto 1976). Although providing a context for examining early Ukrainian life in Winnipeg and the Canadianization of Ukrainians through the public school, respectively, neither study says anything new. There are, of course, exceptions; Ivan Avakumovic, The Communist Party in Canada (Toronto 1975), for example, provides a clearer picture of Ukrainian Canadian participation and fortunes in the Canadian communist movement than do the often superficial and emotionally-charged discussions of Ukrainian community historians.

[33] See, for example, Nancy M. Sheehan, "'Women Helping Women': The WCTU and the Foreign Population in the West, 1905-1930," International Journal of Women's Studies 6, no. 5 (N-D 1983): 399, 406. Perpetuating

initial confusion over Ukrainian religious affiliations is equally common; see, for example, Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, Canada, 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed (Toronto 1975), which identifies the bishop of the Greek Catholic Church in Canada as Orthodox and Ukrainian immigrants as a whole as Russian Orthodox when in fact the Galician-dominated immigration was predominantly Greek Catholic.

[34] See Brown and Cook, A Nation Transformed, 66-7; and Sutherland, Children in English-Canadian Society, 205-7, for uncritical acceptance of the Ukrainian Canadian nationalist traditions that Ukrainian immigrants were deeply religious and eagerly desired education, respectively. The contemporary press casts doubt on the latter stereotype in particular; see chapter 5 for a discussion of peasant immigrant attitudes toward education.

[35] Brown and Cook, A Nation Transformed, 63, 66. Platitudinous stereotypes stripped of previous negative components are not confined to Ukrainians. See, for example, John H. Archer, Saskatchewan: A History (Saskatoon 1980), 161, which describes Blacks in western Canada as "generally accepted on local teams because of their sporting prowess" and Chinese as "esteemed as honest, hardworking individuals at the local level."

[36] Beth Light and Veronica Strong-Boag, True Daughters of the North: Canadian Women's History, An Annotated Bibliography (Toronto 1980), 2.

[37] Claudia Helen Popowich, To Serve Is To Love: The Canadian Story of the Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate (Toronto 1971). Two of the five Ukrainian selections in the Light and Strong-Boag bibliography come from the progressive press and two others have obvious leftist sympathies; given the nationalist dominance in community life and the variety of publications to have complemented English and French themes, these thumbnail sketches of pioneer women and women in leftist organizations provide a distorted impression of both the existing literature and Ukrainian Canadian history.

[38] There is one reference to Hutterite women; see Light and Strong-Boag, True Daughters of the North, 172. A magazine article on the women's branch of the pro-Soviet, pro-communist Association of United Ukrainian Canadians (ibid., 181), however, the sole entry to refer to ethnic women's organizational life, is not even representative of the Ukrainian group, either in terms of organizational influence or the literature available.

[39] See, for example, J.L. Granatstein, Irving M. Abella, David J. Bercuson, R. Craig Brown and H. Blair Neatby, Twentieth Century Canada (Toronto 1983). Although appreciative of the complexities of immigrant and ethnic life, this collective history treats early immigration and related phenomena within a traditional nationbuilding framework: government policy, public debate, assimilation, education, nativism, business and labour needs. Moreover, the failure to mention federal implementation of a multiculturalism policy when discussing social and political developments in the 1970s denies ethnics even token recogni-

tion as a presence in Canada on their own terms.

Two superficial yet revealing examples of the incorporation of the ethnic experience according to mainstream dicta are R. Douglas Francis and Howard Palmer, eds., The Prairie West: Historical Readings (Edmonton 1985); and R. Douglas Francis and Donald B. Smith, eds., Readings in Canadian History: Post-Confederation (N.p. 1982). Despite attention to major and representative themes, including "immigration and ethnic relations" in the former and "immigration and settlement" in the latter, three of the four selections discuss Clifford Sifton, nativism and Anglo-Canadian views on multiculturalism; only an excerpt from John Marlyn's novel, Under the Ribs of Death, addresses the immigrant and ethnic experience from its perspective.

[40] Sheehan, "'Women Helping Women'," 407.

[41] Eliane Leslau Silverman, The Last Best West: Women on the Alberta Frontier, 1880-1930 (Montreal and London 1984). The book's initial bias toward women's shared bonds bridging and superseding their differences, assisted by the frontier, tends to belittle the diversity among Alberta women. By way of contrast, see Linda Rasmussen et al., A Harvest Yet to Reap: A History of Prairie Women (Toronto 1976), which, despite its assertion that it fails to do justice to non-WASP women, is both open and sensitive to their experience.

[42] Silverman, Last Best West, xi-xiii. Unapologetically Turnerian - stressing the homogenizing, liberalizing and liberating influence of the frontier - Silverman is equally insistent that frontier conditions promoted cooperation and community: women's frontier experience in Alberta was simultaneously a continuation and relaxation of patriarchal constraints, an assertion of individuality and a search for relationships.

[43] The statement, "Most women accommodated to the demands of frontier life without that kind of help [seamstresses], sewing new clothes, re-making old ones, and yet still concerned with matching aprons and pants that looked store bought" (ibid., 95), is nonsense in connection with Ukrainian peasant immigrant women.

[44] Ibid., 96. The same approach characterizes her "Women and the Victorian Work Ethic on the Alberta Frontier: Prescription and Description," in The New Provinces: Alberta and Saskatchewan, 1905-1980, ed. Howard Palmer and Donald Smith (Vancouver 1980), 91-9.

[45] Silverman, Last Best West, 78.

[46] Archer, Saskatchewan: A History, 115-32, 168-9, 184-5. Archer treats the Ku Klux Klan in Saskatchewan in the 1920s in a similar manner, as an Anglo-Canadian phenomenon devoid of ethnic response or reaction.

[47] Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History, 196. Brown and Cook, A Nation Transformed, 49-82, also takes the perspective of early twentieth-century nationbuilders, identifying the issue as the type of society Anglo-Canadians wanted.

[48] On reaction to Connor's book, see, for example, the article by Saskatchewan Resident, "The Foreigner," Kanadiiskyi farmer (19 Ja 1910): 4; and letter, Teodor Stadnyk, Sheho, "Varvarstvo," Kanadiiskyi farmer (26 Ja 1910): 4. The WCTU comment sparked a series of letters to the newspaper in December 1905 and January 1906.

[49] Kenneth McNaught, "The National Outlook of English-Speaking Canadians," in Nationalism in Canada, ed. Peter Russell (Toronto 1966), 61-71, suggests that decreasing agitation on behalf of assimilation and increasing acceptance of multiculturalism by English Canadians since the Second World War has been due in large part to the confidence generated by the sheer fact of Canadian survival, despite and taking into account regional and ethnic differences. Such thinking no doubt also helps to explain the growing willingness of WASP historians to examine the nativism in their past.

[50] Light and Strong-Boag, True Daughters of the North, 2-3; and Peter Ward, White Canada Forever: Popular Attitudes and Public Policy Toward Orientals in British Columbia (Montreal 1978), x. See also Robin W. Winks, The Blacks in Canada: A History (New Haven and London), 47-83; and Granatstein et al., Twentieth Century Canada, preface. A Soviet historian writing about Ukrainians in Canada also sees recent mainstream willingness to examine Anglo-Canadian nativism as a new and positive sign; see Arnold Shlepakov, The Emigration of Ukrainians to Canada: Reasons and Circumstances (Toronto 1981), 81. In The Writing of Canadian History: Aspects of English-Canadian Historical Writing Since 1900, 2d ed. rev. (Toronto 1986), 259-320, Carl Berger identifies the separation of nationalism from history as a major development of the post mid-1960s, as historians adopted a more pluralistic approach to their society. His section on the writing of ethnic history (307-12) discusses the most significant themes and works to emerge, and argues that the new research has "done much to qualify, if not overthrow, the image of Canada as a relatively tolerant community in which a variety of people have mingled harmoniously in the past" (311-2).

[51] Irving Abella and Harold Troper, None Is Too Many: Canada and Jews of Europe, 1933-1948 (Toronto 1982).

[52] Ken Adachi, The Enemy That Never Was: A History of the Japanese Canadians (Toronto 1976), 355-70, condemns both the discrimination and wartime injustices against Japanese Canadians and the Japanese Canadians themselves for their complacent attitude, accepting that Canadian society is tolerant and their government is benign. See also the discussion of mythologizing and search for acceptance by second-generation Japanese Canadians in Ann Gomer Sunahara, The Politics of Racism: The Uprooting of Japanese Canadians During the Second World War (Toronto 1981), 164-9.

[53] There are, of course, exceptions, particularly and significantly by western historians writing about the West. See, for example, Gerald Friesen, The Canadian Prairies: A History (Toronto 1984), especially chapter 11, "Immigrant Communities 1870-1940: The Struggle for Cultural Survival," 242-73. Friesen insists that the French and British in western Canada be considered "ethnics," saying that their unique status

derived from historical and linguistic precedence and not officially sanctioned cultural privileges and that they behaved as members of ethnic groups (244). This tends to discount his conclusion (273) concerning the fact of persisting dominance of British social, political and economic leadership and cultural standards.

CHAPTER III

AT ODDS WITH THE MAINSTREAM: MULTICULTURALISM AND THE UKRAINIAN CANADIAN MISSION

The multiculturalism policy adopted by the federal government in 1971 symbolized official acceptance of ethnic Canadians as contributors to nationbuilding and a presence in Canada in their own right. How it is interpreted, what is expected from it, and whether or not it is desirable, however, are matters of debate - both between Anglo-Canadians and ethnics and among ethnic Canadians themselves.[1] Visibility, reception by the host society, and sense of identity or consciousness complicate objective factors like length of residence in Canada, size and demographic distribution in determining the manner of a group's identification with multiculturalism.

For Black Canadians, their sole bond the negative one of colour, the mosaic with its emphasis on language communities and Old World heritages has been unwanted and unreal. "They had wanted nothing more than to assimilate," writes Robin Winks, "in a society which did not value assimilation, indeed, in a society which persistently denied that there was a cultural norm against which assimilation could be measured."[2] Scottish Canadians, in contrast, well-entrenched in the country's history, prominent in its elites, free from prejudice and discrimination, and secure in their homeland, can be content with symbols: haggis on Robert Burns Day, bagpipes, tartans.[3]

Ukrainians have not lobbied for multiculturalism simply to be able to play the bandura and eat holubtsi in Edmonton's Hawrelak Park on Heritage Days. Nor, being an "old established" ethnic community with little new immigration and not stigmatized by colour, are they primarily concerned with immigrant adjustment and integration and discrimination. "Ukrainian nationalism," wrote W.L. Morton in 1975,

> more than that of any other ethnic group in the new Canada, gave an edge and a purpose to the growth of the mosaic, the ethnic and cultural plurality of the Canada of today. It is too much to say that the coming of the frustrated nationalism of the Ukrainians - other groups had similar sentiments - by itself decided that the new minorities should not be mere numerical minorities in process of individual assimilation, but the Ukrainians became the most conscious group seeking acceptance and the means of self-preservation in the new Canadian society.[4]

Ukrainians' agitation on behalf of multiculturalism, together with their understanding of it, come from the Ukrainian consciousness and sense of mission that are the product of not only their Ukrainian heritage but also conditions and events in contemporary Ukraine. In both nationalist and progressive traditions, the peasant pioneers unite their Canadian descendants with their Ukrainian forebears through timeless values and strengths the immigrants first inherited, practised and then passed on.[5] By consciously tying Ukrainian Canadians to Ukraine as well as to Canada, they have also acted to nurture identification with the homeland. That nationalists and progressives interpret their Ukrainian heritage differently and have reacted differently to developments in twentieth-century Ukraine, however, has resulted in conflicting views of both multiculturalism and the Ukrainian Canadian mission. The nationalist perspective has dominated, among Ukrainian Canadians themselves and as the mainstream's perception of Ukrainian Canadian ambitions and identity.

In Ukrainians' broadest definition, multiculturalism enables the peoples of Canada to retain and practise their cultural traditions and impart values not only to enrich Canadian life but also to promote interethnic harmony, tolerance and goodwill in Canada and the world. Both nationalists and progressives root their special contribution or mission as Ukrainians in their legacy as a subjugated peasant nation, whose political domination and economic oppression by foreign overlords eventually translated into national renaissance, emigration overseas and revolution for control of its own destiny. Ukrainians found freedom in Canada, an old pioneer muses as he waits on the pryspa outside his house for his son and grandson from the city, but if they keep forgetting their history and traditions and what their ancestors fought for in Ukraine, they will have nothing to offer in return.[6]

Although their emphases differ, both nationalist and progressive missions appeal to the values and principles Ukrainian Canadians have inherited from their Ukrainian ancestors - through their struggle for human dignity, justice, freedom and democracy - to enrich and serve Canada. Progressives argue that exploitation and discrimination, historically in Ukraine and now in Canada, have made Ukrainian Canadians apostles of equality and brotherhood. Progressives in particular, because of their ties with one of the world's superpowers through the land of their ancestors, are uniquely placed to promote international peace and goodwill.[7] Nationalists maintain that because Ukrainians in Ukraine, now under Soviet Russian domination, have not known freedom and democracy except for brief periods, Ukrainians in Canada cherish them all the more. Their special knowledge of communism enables them to alert the Canadian government and public to menaces to world peace and the Canadian way of life; and as members of the "Third Force" they act as a bridge between the two founding races and promote tolerance and understanding.[8] In Canada's centennial year, Yuzyk elaborated:

> If we succeed, and we are well on the road to succeeding, to evolve the pattern of unity in continuing diversity through the application of the principles of Confederation and compromise this will serve as a precedent for other states in the world having similar population and cultural problems. It will be Canada's contribution to the world. Let us also remember that in Canada we have the world in miniature. World peace and order could be achieved if the principles of unity in continuing diversity, brotherhood, equality, compromise, justice and the recognition of the freedom and dignity of individuals and nations are honestly applied. With a rich background and wealth of experience as our legacy Canadians of all origins, united, can look ahead into the next century with faith, understanding and confidence.[9]

If stripped of their specific and antagonistic Ukrainian political nuances, the nationalist and progressive missions and definitions of multiculturalism not only resemble each other but also echo the utopian rhetoric of all advocates, whether they come from ethnic communities or the mainstream. Indeed, the idea of world mission and example accruing to Canada because of its ethnic experiment, morally superior to either melting pot or assimilative societies, has long been popular with segments of the mainstream.[10] Intercultural understanding, together with the dominant culture's historical concern for immigrant adjustment and integration, continue to dominate the mainstream's definition of the focus and intent of multiculturalism.[11] Ukrainians' understanding of multiculturalism and sense of mission, however, go beyond their "all-Canadian" features. A distinct and exclusive Ukrainian component not only sets Ukrainian Canadians apart from other ethnic groups and creates tensions with the mainstream but also illuminates how the ideological cleavage within the community has coloured the meaning of Ukrainianism in Canada. Overshadowing the shared outlines of a group myth establishing Ukrainians' place and role in Canadian life are fundamentally different perceptions of the Ukrainian Canadian identity and community based on equally different perceptions of the group's relationship with and responsibility to Ukraine.

The nationalist mission addresses Ukrainian Canadians directly. It appeals to the sense of duty of Ukrainians enjoying the liberties and opportunities of Canada to assist their beleaguered homeland and to preserve here what Russification is threatening there. Regardless of its influence on the mass of Ukrainian Canadians, increasingly remote from their Ukrainian origins, this idea has been assiduously cultivated by the community elite and projected as the vision uniting and animating Ukrainian Canadians. It consciously identifies all Ukrainian Canadians as members of the group to be harnessed in the interests of its objectives. The progressive mission, in contrast, is not Ukrainian specific. Progressives reject the notion of a "Third Force" as a manoeuvre by the ethnic elite to secure political plums in return for support of the Anglo-Canadian establishment, and claim it denies the Canadian reality of "two nations"; they have also been sceptical of multiculturalism, labelling it an act of political expediency by Anglo-Canadians to avoid recognition of the French Canadian nation without sharing real power with ethnics either.[12] From the progressive perspective, there is no need for a "Third Force" or multiculturalism as Ukrainian nationalists understand it.

In its ultimate form, the nationalist definition of multiculturalism is predicated and elaborates upon the Canadian tradition of viewing society as composed of groups as well as individuals and, in turn, of recognizing group as well as individual rights.[13] What Ukrainians mean by multiculturalism is an ideology committed to the preservation of ethnocultural communities as microsocieties with complex, valid and satisfying infrastructures; and for that commitment to translate into "access to government institutions and programmes that support culture, arts, education, communications and community (group) development."[14] What Ukrainians want from multiculturalism is the right, as Canadians who are full partners in Confederation and proven builders of the country, to make political and financial demands on the state for their group. It is for this, as much as for acceptance in Canadian society or for socioeconomic advancement by the ambitious, that they have rewritten Canadian history in their own terms, to insist upon their role in nationbuilding as equal participants, and to redefine Canada itself as a multicultural nation.

Because of persecution of the Ukrainian language and culture in Ukraine and subjugation to the Soviet political regime, the nationalist elite has argued that Ukrainian Canadians cannot as a group be allowed to be assimilated into Anglo-American culture. Thus, it has demanded public support for the protection and development of the Ukrainian language and culture in Canada as the means to meaningful community life, group identity and survival. It has based this demand on the Ukrainians' right to status as founding peoples, earned through their physical role in nationbuilding, blood sacrifice in two world wars and enrichment of Canadian life in all spheres. This has been the official nationalist position since the hearings of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, when Ukrainians objected strongly to the first- and second-class citizenship its frame of reference implied. The most recent expression came in 1986. In addition to emphasizing community renewal from within, a "blueprint for action" prepared for the official nationalist superstructure, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, as Ukrainians face the twenty-first century, says:

> Our struggle to realize our cultural aspirations in Canada will continue; so will our efforts to establish a meaningful relationship with our kin in Ukraine on whose behalf we reject the totalitarian regime which denies our ancestral homeland both independence and democracy.
>
> Faced with assimilation at home and Russification overseas, our predicament among Canada's minorities is virtually unique. Although there are many ethnocultural communities in Canada, few can claim the same central role as Ukrainians in building the Prairies and in developing the region's cultural, social and economic life. And no other settler people has had to endure the harsh reality of an ancestral homeland dominated by a totalitarian regime bent on suppressing its culture and language....
>
> ....What we seek is the special understanding on the part of Canada's two main linguistic communities, its numerous ethnocultural groups, its many public and private organizations and institutions, governments and the Ukrainians themselves of the cultural, linguistic and educational predicament of a group whose situation is not equal to that of others. We simply cannot access the culture of our ancestral homeland as readily as most other peoples in Canada. In the circumstances, we need the cooperation and assistance of all our fellow citizens.[15]

Like the French Canadians before them, Ukrainian Canadians isolate language as the key to survival. Without public recognition and support of so-called heritage languages, they maintain, multiculturalism as either an ideology or a policy is empty.[16]

Just as western historiography has been most receptive to according Ukrainian Canadians their wanted niche in history, so too in the prairie provinces have Ukrainians most successfully lobbied for government-funded language and education programs. In part this reflects their numerical strength, approximately one-tenth of prairie residents, concentrated in major urban centres or identifiable rural areas. In part it reflects the character of western society, different from the historical English-French duality of the East because of the ethnic pluralism that has been a fact since the days of settlement, despite Anglo-Canadian political and socioeconomic dominance.[17] As the result of Ukrainian community initiative in the 1970s, Alberta, followed by Manitoba and Saskatchewan, approved instruction in English and any other language in their respective school systems.[18] Ukrainians also obtained a publicly-funded institute of Ukrainian studies at the University of Alberta, proclaimed by its first director as "the cap on the Ukrainian educational ladder" and a bulwark against the "twin perils of Russification abroad and Anglo-Americanization at home."[19]

But Ukrainians failed in their ultimate goal, to have minority language rights entrenched in the new Canadian constitution. Disillusioned community activist, Manoly Lupul, writes:

> For the ethnic Ukrainians, failure to obtain the constitutional amendment has a significance all its own. The amendment would have recognized ethnic-Ukrainian consciousness as a positive good to be encouraged and developed. Ukrainians... were playing for high stakes indeed - nothing less than the entrenchment in the Canadian constitution of the centuries-old Ukrainian predicament. In refusing them, Canada's national government was indicating that it was not interested in the survival of the ethnic Ukrainians as a minority. Their predicament was theirs alone; it was none of the nation's business. Prime Minister Trudeau came into politics to save his own people, not the ethnic Ukrainians....But all should know what Canada's Ukrainians were refused - the basis for survival as a group in all parts of Canada where their numbers are sufficient. I am not surprised we lost; indeed, I would have been surprised had we won. The non-ethnics who govern us have never been willing to take seriously the difficult "Ukrainian Question." Our first settlers found this out immediately after the First World War. Nothing has changed since.[20]

Lupul criticizes the Ukrainian group in particular: for the internal disunity and political ineptitude that prevent it from being a force in

Canada or engaging in the sustained power politics necessary to influence the country's decision-makers; for its naiveté in believing that a politically viable and unified "Third Force" exists to represent the non-British and non-French; and for its naiveté in believing that the Anglo-French establishment, afraid for its power and status, would make the concessions necessary for meaningful ethnicity.[21]

In Peter Russell's Nationalism in Canada, Elizabeth Wangenheim pinpoints the reasons both for the Ukrainians' efforts on behalf of their language and culture and for the mainstream's refusal to countenance multiculturalism as the Ukrainians understand it. "If," she states, "other minority groups should come to regard the Ukrainians as a model of what an ethnic group's position in Canada should be, then many of them, regardless of their own different history and relationship to their homeland, might come to expect the same type of treatment as the Ukrainians. In this event, the difficulties involved in coping with the basic problem of Canadian identity might well be intensified."[22] Fundamental to Wangenheim's argument, Russell summaries, "is the view that the degree of social integration required to sustain Canada as a national society requires that some limit be set to the country's cultural heterogeneity."[23]

It is the nationalist mission's external point of reference, Ukraine, that makes multiculturalism as Ukrainians define it so disturbing to Anglo-Canadians, for it implies a political identity foreign to their experience and therefore incompatible with "Canadian." Equally significant is the Ukrainian emphasis on language, historically so sensitive an issue to French-English relations and their interpretation of the nature of Canada, and rightly perceived as vital to group consciousness and self-expression and to community maintenance. English Canada only grudgingly relinquished the idea of Canada as British to accommodate the French fact. It has been unprepared, in either its history books or its blueprint for the nation, to jeopardize further that elusive concept of the Canadian identity - particularly in its section of the country, to balance the psychological unity of French Canada - by legitimizing ethnic-group politicization in old-country terms and ethnic groups as complete communities with their own dynamics and identities. Thus, while Ukrainian immigration and settlement in the heyday of Canadian expansion have become part of the nation's history, and innocuous cultural expressions like food and folk arts part of the national culture, especially its popular dimension, Ukrainian community life and Ukrainians as a community or group have not.

"I don't know quite what this idea of the mosaic means," said A.R.M. Lower in the twilight of his career:

> It is all very well as far as folk songs and folk festivals are concerned but supposing you carry the notion of the mosaic into the political arena, where do you get to?...You could disintegrate the general community by giving too much autonomy to the local group, to the individual or specific group.[24]

The gulf between English and French that Lower lamented and which precluded the homogeneous society he considered crucial to nationhood was accompanied by an equally disquietening observation. Whereas history had made French Canada a self-conscious collectivity (a people, a nation), it had failed to do the same for English-speaking Canada, where immigration and the refusal of many newcomers to deny their particularity in the interests of the general community had retarded a Canadian identity. In English Canada, Lower epitomizes the national historian convinced of his role in nationbuilding - to create a sense of peoplehood and common destiny that generates guidelines and faith for the future. "Unity in diversity" could provide neither the vision nor the blueprint.

"Unity in diversity" implies that the parts define the whole. In 1969, J.M.S. Careless questioned the centralist and nationalist bias of Canadian history writing to suggest that in the experiences and perspectives of the parts - an enduring, sharpening and overlapping regional, ethnic and class pluralism through which Canadians interpret their nation-state - lie the meaning and identity of the whole.[25] He confined his discussion, however, to regionalism, the least challenging to traditional mainstream prejudices. Ten years later, Careless returned to this theme only to retreat from it. In "unity in diversity" there is a danger that the parts will overshadow or splinter the whole. "Once, perhaps," he wrote,

> historians were only impressed by the vast forest that was Canada (my, what a big one). Then they got down to tackling the trees, and carved out their particularist clearings. But clearings, we know, imply a confining isolation. Now the task is to cut the sight-lines through, to make the perceptual links, so that once again we may discern the still vast Canadian forest-nation as an entity, or identity, in itself.[26]

As with Careless's predecessors, ethnic and other particularities are not to be encouraged to the point where they appear to interfere with traditional mainstream priorities and definitions of nationbuilding, national unity and the Canadian identity.

The treatment of ethnics, and more recently ethnic women, in Canadian historical scholarship defines the position of the non-British and non-French in the country's past and establishes the boundaries of the national experience. Whether and how to integrate ethnics has been above all an issue in English-speaking Canada, where both nationbuilders and historians have been overwhelmingly of WASP origin. Like their counterparts in French Canada, they are concerned with survival.[27] But English-speaking Canada has lacked the pillars of la survivance - ancestry, language, religion, historical memory and emotional attachment to a common homeland - that unite French Canadians. Despite its size and dominance, the charter British group after Confederation became increasingly anxious about its own future and hegemony and about a sense of community and national purpose. In English-speaking Canada, the context of survival - in Britishness within the British Empire or its Commonwealth successor, against American pressures, in the primary relationship with French Quebec, or currently as a mosaic - has been crucial to its quest for identity and purpose.

Recent trends in mainstream Canadian historiography and attitudes toward multiculturalism demonstrate that the Canadian nation as perceived and defined by the dominant society still has limitations when considering ethnics. The facets of their experience that have been accepted as part of the country's history and identity are those that correspond to traditional interests and concerns of the dominant culture and do not challenge its basic assumptions about the nature of Canada. The role mainstream historians have permitted Ukrainians, including Ukrainian Canadian women, in the national experience closely parallels the subordinate position they, and ethnic groups like them, have occupied in Canadian society. If the Canadian identity is to be expressed by a mosaic or multiculturalism, it is not to entail a radical change in the relative positions of the groups composing Canadian society to legitimize ethnic communities, as entities, in the country's past, present and future. While the Ukrainian founding fathers myth has won partial victory, it has also witnessed major defeat.

Like nationbuilders and historians in English and French Canada, Ukrainian Canadian historians and community spokespersons have been ultimately concerned with survival and its form. Their cultivation of a series of group myths on the turn-of-the-century peasant immigrants in western Canada, together with the myths' fortunes at the hands of the mainstream and Ukrainian Canadians themselves, are pivotal to the group's self-image and persistence. The importance of the founding fathers myth to Ukrainian Canadians' sense of identity - expressing both their emotional identification with Canadian nationbuilding and the weight of their Ukrainian heritage - has been complicated by its use by the community elite, acting in the name of the group, as a political tool. That Ukrainian Canadians have been unable to use their myth with the effectiveness of the Loyalist and Selkirk settler traditions to legitimize their particularity reflects the peculiar threat Ukrainian ethnicity poses to unyielding Anglo-French assumptions about the character of Canada. That Ukrainian Canadians have pursued their myth with such tenacity simultaneously testifies to the significance nationalists in particular have attached to group survival, rooted in a sense of mission that looks to Ukraine for inspiration.

In the community's concern for the group and its fate as a distinct entity, the quality of the relationship of the various parts to the whole is vital. Emphasis on survival and mission subordinates the individual to the community and to community objectives determined and articulated by the elite. It also presumes all Canadians of Ukrainian origin, regardless of personal preferences, to be members of the group, either consciously identified with and sympathetic to it or there to be harnessed and molded in its interests. The mass of ordinary Ukrainian

Canadians has shared its elite's visions and prejudices in some respects but rejected them or followed its own conscience in others, highlighting the frequent irrelevance of elite ambitions for the group to grassroots attitudes and realities. The independent functioning of the Ukrainian Canadian group myths at the popular level reflects different concepts of the Ukrainian Canadian identity, the group and its mission to those projected by community spokespersons.

* * * * * * *

How various segments of the Ukrainian Canadian community have interpreted the group's experience has influenced their perception of and attitudes toward Ukrainian Canadian women. So too have elite emphases on group survival and Ukrainianism, focusing on the preservation of language and culture, and assumptions of group consciousness and responsibility. They have subordinated both individual women and their sex to the needs, agenda and self-image of the group, as its priorities and expectations dictated what Ukrainian women should be and should do. At the same time, the primacy of the group has made women automatic, indispensable and recognized actors in the Ukrainian Canadian experience, modifying the effects of their inferior status as women while imposing an arbitrary group tie with its own constraints. The roles (real and mythic) that over the past century have been assigned to Ukrainian Canadian women serve to define their place in the group's history, blueprint for survival and identity. Their roles have embraced yet transcended women's traditional functions of reproduction, child-rearing and homemaking, and community work utilizing their special female talents. Because Ukrainian Canadian women have been Ukrainians as well as women, their traditional functions have carried peculiar Ukrainian responsibilities and nuances, and they have had additional roles, as public activists and group symbols, in which femaleness has often been secondary to Ukrainianness and elite perspectives divorced from those of the popular consciousness.

The image of Ukrainian Canadian women created and projected by their contemporaries and in the historical literature has not always corresponded to reality. In that it has frequently portrayed the desirable or ideal and endorsed stereotypes, good or bad, it has served the prejudices and self-interests of its creators. It speaks less about what is or was in the lives of Ukrainian Canadian women than about how Ukrainian Canadians have elected to use them for group purposes.

FOOTNOTES

[1] The secondary school text, Many Cultures, Many Heritages (Toronto 1975), provides a series of vignettes indicating how different ethnic groups perceive ethnicity, their respective contributions to Canadian development and the meaning of multiculturalism.

[2] Robin W. Winks, The Blacks in Canada: A History (New Haven and London 1971), 482. Caution should be exercised, however, in applying Winks's comments to more recent black immigrants, who often have a well-developed sense of identity and heritages they wish to preserve.

[3] Indeed, to write Scottish Canadian history according to the multiculturalism formula of contributions by ethnic groups can be embarrassing. See, for example, W. Stanford Reid, ed., The Scottish Tradition in Canada (Toronto 1976), particularly ix-xi, and the chapters dealing with the fur trade, western settlement, business and politics. Their approach not only reinforces the superiority of the role of the charter peoples but also removes to the Scots what has been the common property of all Canadians and engages in unnecessary one-up-manship.

[4] W.L. Morton, "The Historical Phenomenon of Minorities: The Canadian Experience," mimeographed (Paper presented to the Fourteenth International Congress of Historical Sciences, San Francisco, 22-9 August 1975), 20. See also Elizabeth Wangenheim, "The Ukrainians: A Case Study of the 'Third Force'," in Nationalism in Canada, ed. Peter Russell (Toronto 1966), 73-4.

[5] In nationalist historiography, see, for example, Michael H. Marunchak, The Ukrainian Canadians: A History, 2d ed. rev. (Winnipeg and Ottawa 1982), 95; and for the progressives, see Eugene Dolny's speech in Association of United Ukrainian Canadians and Workers Benevolent Association, A Tribute to Our Ukrainian Pioneers in Canada's First Century (Winnipeg 1966), 46-7. The relationship between Ukrainian heroines and peasant pioneer women and their female descendants in Canada is explored in chapter 10.

[6] Myron Chorney, "Obituary," in The Ukrainian Pioneers in Alberta, Canada, ed. Joseph M. Lazarenko (Edmonton 1970), 31-6.

[7] See, for example, Association of United Ukrainian Canadians and Workers Benevolent Association, Tribute to Our Ukrainian Pioneers, 27, 48, 54-5, 81-2, 96, 98; "Slavic Canadians! Let Our Voice Be Heard!" Ukrainian Canadian (15 My 1955): 7-8; John Weir, "The Flaming Torch,"

Ukrainian Canadian (1 N 1957): 24; William Harasym, "The AUUC Community: A History of Achievement and Growth," Ukrainian Canadian (My 1978): 6-7; Mitch Sago, "Our Commitment to the Future in a United Canada," Ukrainian Canadian (Je 1978): 6-9; "A Ukrainian Milestone in 1981," Ukrainian Canadian (D 1980): 7; Petro Kravchuk, Na novii zemli: Storinky z zhyttia, borotby i tvorchoi pratsi kanadskykh ukraintsiv (Toronto 1958), 372-81; and Marko Terlytsia [Petro Kravchuk], Pravnuky pohani: Ukrainski natsionalisty v Kanadi (Kiev 1960), 294-8.

[8] See, for example, three works by Paul Yuzyk: "75th Anniversary of Ukrainian Settlement in Canada," Ukrainian Review 14, no. 1 (Sp 1967): 81-6; Ukrainian Canadians: Their Place and Role in Canadian Life (Toronto 1967), 91-2; and For a Better Canada: A Collection of Selected Speeches Delivered in the Senate of Canada and at Banquets and Conferences in Various Centres Across Canada (Toronto 1973). See also Michael H. Marunchak, The Ukrainian Canadians: A History (Winnipeg and Ottawa 1970), 724-5; and Ukrainian Canadian Committee, On Language and Culture (Winnipeg 1962), 7-10.

[9] Yuzyk, Ukrainian Canadians: Their Place and Role in Canadian Life, 92. For an assessment of the Ukrainian role and the role of individuals like Senator Yuzyk in creating both an ideology and a policy of multiculturalism, together with positive and negative reaction to it, see Bohdan Bociurkiw, "The Federal Policy of Multiculturalism and the Ukrainian-Canadian Community," in Ukrainian Canadians, Multiculturalism, and Separatism: An Assessment, ed. Manoly R. Lupul (Edmonton 1978), 98-128.

[10] Interwar supporters of the League of Nations argued that Canada's experiment in French-English coexistence and special Commonwealth relationship were models for the League and for the internationalism so necessary in the modern world; see Carl Berger, The Writing of Canadian History: Aspects of English-Canadian Historical Writing, 1900-1970 (Toronto 1976), 32-51, 173. In the 1970s this idea was expanded by Prime Minister Trudeau to explain his perception of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework; see Many Cultures, Many Heritages, 183.

[11] See, for example, a special multicultural issue of Canadian Woman Studies 4, no. 2 (W 1982), in which multiculturalism is approached essentially as a matter of immigrant adjustment involving women's simultaneous oppression by two societies, and not also as a matter of identity and ongoing culture maintenance and women's role. Ghila B. Sroka's "Journée de la femme sepharde: émancipation et/ou fidelité" (79-81) is only a partial exception.

[12] See, for example, Mitch Sago, "The 'Third' Element," Ukrainian Canadian (1 My 1968): 9-10; and William Harasym, "The Policy of Multiculturalism: A Menace and a Fraud - Or a Promise and a Panacea?" Ukrainian Canadian (Jl-Ag 1978): 37-42.

[13] The French fact in British North America and its institutionalization over two centuries established a precedent of diversity and group rights that the regional nature of Canada, geographically and

culturally, and immigrants with their own distinctiveness augmented. On the ideological origins of a group-conscious values system, see J.M.S. Careless, "'Limited Identities' in Canada," Canadian Historical Review, 50. no. 1 (Mr 1969): 4-5; and S.F. Wise, "Liberal Consensus or Ideological Battleground: Some Reflections on the Hartz Thesis," CHA Papers (1974): 1-14.

[14] Ukrainian Community Development Committee, Prairie Region, Building the Future: Ukrainian Canadians in the 21st Century, A Blueprint for Action (Edmonton 1986), 23; also 24-5.

[15] Ibid., 2, 3, 4; see also 5-10, 24. See also Ukrainian Canadian Committee, "Brief Presented to the Right Honorable Vincent Massey, P.C., C.-H., Chairman and Members of the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences," mimeographed (Winnipeg 1949); S. Semczuk, Centennial of Canada and 75 Years of Ukrainian Catholic Church (Winnipeg 1967), 5-7; Marunchak, Ukrainian Canadians, 1970 edition, 724-30; Ukrainian Professional and Businessmen's Club of Edmonton, "A Brief Submitted to the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons on the Ukrainians, the New Constitution, the Laws and Policies of the Federal and the Provincial Governments of Canada," mimeographed (Edmonton 1971); and Ukrainian Professional and Businessmen's Club of Edmonton (presented by the Ukrainian Canadian Committee), "A Brief Submitted to the Government of Alberta for the Preservation and Development of the Ukrainian Culture and Heritage in Alberta," mimeographed (Edmonton 1972).

[16] Manoly R. Lupul, "The Political Implementation of Multiculturalism," Journal of Canadian Studies 17, no. 1 (Sp 1982): 98-100; also his "The Tragedy of Canada's White Ethnics: A Constitutional Post-Mortem," Journal of Ukrainian Studies 7, no. 1 (Sp 1982): 3-15.

[17] This should not be overemphasized but it is becoming increasingly common for historians and others to ascribe western peculiarities and protest to the ethnic factor. David J. Bercuson, "Regionalism and 'Unlimited Identity' in Western Canada," Journal of Canadian Studies 15, no. 2 (Su 1980): 121-6, suggests that the unreality of Loyalist British values to which immigrants were to assimilate accounts for a strong sense of western regionalism instead of a strong Canadianism. Leo Driedger, "Multicultural Regionalism: Toward an Understanding of the Canadian West," in The Making of the Modern West: Western Canada Since 1945, ed. A.W. Rasporich (Calgary 1984), 167-82, poses the question: "To what extent does the multicultural West see itself fighting the two charter groups represented by the French-British axis in Ontario and Quebec, who are perceived as promoting Eastern interests (including bilingualism and biculturalism) and which the West does not share" (178).

[18] Donald John Dawson, "Community Power Structure and the Rise of Ethnic Language Programs in Public Schooling" (Ph.D., University of Alberta, 1982), particularly 98-144, 172-215.

[19] Manoly Lupul, "The Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies," in Ethnic Canadians: Culture and Education, ed. Martin L. Kovacs (Regina 1978), 445-9.

[20] Lupul, "The Tragedy of Canada's White Ethnics," 7-8. See also his "Political Implementation of Multiculturalism," 93-102, which describes the federal multiculturalism policy as a failure and places much of the blame on the indifference of Prime Minister Trudeau and his ignorance of the multicultural reality of the West.

[21] Lupul, "The Tragedy of Canada's White Ethnics," 3-15.

[22] Wangenheim, "The Ukrainians: A Case Study of the 'Third Force'," 90.

[23] Peter Russell, "Conclusion," in Russell, Nationalism in Canada, 370.

[24] Welf H. Heick, "Historical Perspective: An Interview with Arthur R.M. Lower," Queen's Quarterly 78, no. 4 (W 1971): 525.

[25] Careless, "'Limited Identities' in Canada," 1-10.

[26] J.M.S. Careless, "Limited Identities - Ten Years Later," Manitoba History [1979-80]: 9.

[27] Ramsay Cook, The Maple Leaf Forever: Essays on Nationalism and Politics in Canada (Toronto 1971), 96-147, remains an excellent account of the preoccupation with nationbuilding and survival among French and English Canadian historians. My criticism of Cook's analysis is that it tends to equate English Canadian nationalism with Canadian nationalism and French Canadian nationalism with particularism. It also fails to distinguish sufficiently between English Canada, and the men of British origin and bias who have been its prophets and historians, and English-speaking Canada, acknowledging the many non-British peoples whose understanding of Canada, Canadian nationalism and the Canadian historical experience can differ significantly from that of the WASP-dominated "official" culture or mainstream.

PART TWO

IMAGES, ROLES AND MYTHS IN THE HISTORY OF UKRAINIAN CANADIAN WOMEN

CHAPTER IV

PACKAGED TO GROUP DICTATES: WOMEN IN UKRAINIAN CANADIAN HISTORY

As sensitive to the Ukrainian Canadian experience as a distinct entity as to the issues of nationbuilding and integration, Ukrainian Canadian historians have traditionally sought to demonstrate both aspects of the dual identity they helped forge. Their works counterbalance community life organized on religious and ideological lines with socioeconomic, political and cultural contribution to and participation in mainstream society.[1] Identification with group legitimization and mission has also meant less commitment to the pursuit of knowledge than to the creation and "proof" of community myths and reaffirmation of the group's self-image. The results have been superficiality and a disposition to chronological overview within a preconceived framework rather than academically detached analyses of issues, trends and specific events or phenomena. Increasingly since the 1960s, however, a new generation of Ukrainian Canadians - with the necessary research skills and emotional distance, and profiting from the evolution of Canadian social history - has begun to probe all facets of the Ukrainian Canadian experience.

How Ukrainian Canadians perceive women in their history is inseparable from how they perceive themselves. The concern for legitimization and mission that generated general surveys and imposed interpretative constraints both handicapped the study of Ukrainian women in Canada and determined how the literature dealt with them. Sketches of immigrant pioneer life, prominent or successful individuals, and women's organizations predominate. The superficiality of their treatment reflects the general bias toward cursory overview that, quite apart from a male bias in Ukrainian Canadian history writing, precluded in-depth examination of women's experience in its totality. At the same time, the chosen areas of emphasis, and selectivity of treatment within them, reflect the traditional group priorities expressed by the peasant pioneer and progress myths and the Ukrainian mission with its focus on group survival and ongoing responsibility to the homeland. Women's experience outside these parameters has not been deemed significant to the group's history. Nor have the female experience and perspective been deemed significant in their own right, or developments among Ukrainian Canadian women which challenge or repudiate community objectives and comfortable self-perceptions been acknowledged and addressed.

As pioneers and examples of upward mobility and integration or community service, Ukrainian Canadian women have been important less for representing a peculiar female perspective and contribution to Ukrainian Canadian progress and group goals than for their Ukrainianness, in which the fact that they were women was often irrelevant to the role they played in the group's consciousness and identity. Moreover, while their separate niche in Ukrainian Canadian history is an admission that women have been perceived to have a special function and sphere of activity distinct from those of men, their condition and status as women and the ramifications of being female have received little attention. This includes not only women's biological and sex-prescribed social roles in group survival but also male-female relationships and inequalities in Ukrainian Canadian life and the double burden of sex and ethnic origin borne by Ukrainian Canadian women in their participation in mainstream society. The traditional treatment of women in Ukrainian Canadian historiography was intended to serve and not to query preconceived notions of the group's historical character, evolution and identity. It indicates how historians have preferred to package the past, aligning women with their interpretation of the common experience, rather than explore actual conditions among Ukrainian Canadian women or attitudes toward them in different periods of the group's history. Recent research into the socioeconomic and cultural profiles of Ukrainian Canadian women and the provocations of Ukrainian Canadian feminists have raised contentious issues like female oppression and exploitation, assimilation and group-imposed behaviour and roles. They constitute a challenge both to Ukrainian Canadian historiography and to the Ukrainian Canadian community's perception of itself and its future.

Ironically, the greatest attention paid to Ukrainian women has not been by Ukrainian Canadian historians but by a handful of Anglo-Canadian commentators who preceded them. Charles Young's 1931 study, still one of the most perceptive accounts of early Ukrainian Canadian development, discusses several woman-related issues: the traditional role of the family as an economic unit, and particularly of women, in Ukrainian agricultural progress; family relations and stability; female employment; the effects of male dominance on women's status and treatment; and standards of living as reflected in attitudes and home conditions and female health.[2] Two major projects prior to Young also furnished data on Ukrainian women. A 1917 investigation into socioeconomic conditions in rural Ukrainian districts in the prairie provinces contains a wealth of partially digested statistical information; it not only profiles women in specific settlements but also permits comparative analysis, especially of the correlation between agricultural progress and home standards, female education and women's work.[3] Robert England's The Central European Immigrant in Canada (1929) draws on the reports of Anglo-Canadian teachers awarded Masonic scholarships to serve in the "more backward" non-English-speaking areas of Saskatchewan; the teachers provide personal and largely critical observations of the lifestyle, outlook and treatment of Ukrainian women and describe their own efforts to introduce reform.[4]

These and other works of the period to refer to Ukrainian women were governed by the same concern for group survival that marked subsequent Ukrainian Canadian historians writing about their group. Ultimately concerned with the social fabric and mental health of their nation, these Anglo-Canadians wished to measure the Ukrainians' assimilability, or their potential to disrupt and debase Canadian life. As the family was held to be the core of society and the woman the core of the family, the quality of the Ukrainian domestic circle and of Ukrainian womanhood, and the deviation of Ukrainian attitudes and practices from Anglo-Canadian norms, became matters of concern. Their literature highlighted what Anglo-Canadians perceived as both fundamentally evil and destabilizing to Canadian society: peasant home and housekeeping standards; domestic violence; child brides bartered like commodities; and male superiority, especially in the husband-wife relationship, that demanded obedience and servility from women regarded as little more than domestic drudges and beasts of burden. To some minds, the treatment of women was proof of Slavic inferiority. "No wonder the Canadian farmer speaks of the 'bohunk' or 'the heathen',...fit only for the roughest work," an Englishwoman touring the West in the late 1920s exclaimed, citing the case of a Ukrainian widower who said he would have preferred the death of his best cow to that of his wife.[5] Indignation and condemnation seldom took into account the social and economic organization of peasant society that lay behind gender roles witnessed in Ukrainian settlements. Anglo-Canadian identification with nationbuilding, rooted in British and Protestant values, meant that Ukrainian women were examined as they impeded or advanced the cause, and not as members of a peasant immigrant group in the process of modernization and adaptation.[6]

Yet it would be incorrect to imply that either contemporary or subsequent Anglo-Canadian opinion was unanimously negative or unsympathetic. Edmund Oliver, for example, no friend of Ukrainian aspirations in western Canada, spoke admiringly of the Ukrainian women who brought to their labour on the land nothing but their "pure hearts and willing hands."[7] And the workload that observers at the time condemned as unladylike and evidence of Ukrainian inferiority, mainstream historians have now ennobled:

> Even worse [than life for urban immigrant women] was the life of the immigrant woman homesteading in the West. Often she worked side by side with her husband, clearing the land, removing stumps, building fences, seeding, threshing, or milking, while she alone was responsible for the children and the household chores. And when her husband was away at another job, at a political meeting, or visiting with friends (an opportunity most women got only on Sunday at church) she was on her own. As one Ukrainian woman later plaintively described

> her life to her children: "Your crazy father was often at crazy meetings. I had to cut the ice, bring in water, cut wood, chop wood, bring it in. Who was supposed to do all that?"[8]

That women figure little in traditional Ukrainian Canadian histories testifies to the dominance of the male perspective in ethnic as well as mainstream historiography. Yuzyk's identification of the father but not the mother of the "first Canadian-born Ukrainian," for example, superfically illustrates an attitude that relegates the female experience and perspective to the background.[9] More significantly, both early settlement and subsequent development are explained through the male members of a family and the group and their activities. It is men who emigrate and immigrate (women accompany them as wives, mothers and daughters); and it is men who take homesteads, find work, earn money, make decisions, erect schools and churches, and give their society shape.[10] Intellectual and community life itself is defined in male terms that reflect the actual distribution of power; men's organizations, for instance, represent the various ideological camps, while women's and youth groups act as their appendages.

Women have been equally affected by the penchant of Ukrainian Canadian historiography for chronological overview conforming to predetermined ideological and politically-motivated frameworks. It has subjected them to the same superficial and selective treatment that characterizes the overall Ukrainian Canadian experience. In both nationalist and progressive traditions, women make brief and stereotyped appearances, with the issues and dynamics behind the stereotypes and disembodied sketches seldom raised and never deeply probed. Beyond occasional defensiveness and denial, neither has either tradition addressed the questions emerging from the comments of their Anglo-Canadian predecessors concerning conditions among Ukrainian women.

Both nationalists and progressives have acknowledged the immigrant peasant woman homesteading in western Canada. Her hard work and physical labour on the land that Anglo-Canadians decried have become virtues, part of the courageous, self-sacrificing and toiling image of the peasant pioneer myth and contributing to growth and progress. While Paul Yuzyk and Peter Krawchuk, the major figures in the two streams, have been relatively matter-of-fact in describing women's role on the homestead and muted in their praise,[11] their disciples feminized the founding fathers myth. Marunchak writes:

> From the numerous pioneer memoirs and from the press articles of that time, we glean many tributes paid to Ukrainian women, who in many cases...took care of the farms. They cut and uprooted the trees, picked roots and stones, plowed, dug and hoed - in one word, they transformed the brushwood and the prairie into a fertile grain-growing soil. Thousands of acres were prepared for planting, by these steadfast and heroic women. When in 1881 Manitoba had only 51,300 acres under cultivation and in 1903, 3,757,000 acres were seeded, including 2,442,000 put into wheat. Included in these thousands and millions of cultivated acres was a fair share of the back-breaking labour contributed by the Ukrainian pioneer women.[12]

Accompanying admiration of the qualities and accomplishments of Ukrainian pioneer women was a romanticization of their struggles and hardships that precluded critical appraisal of conditions under which they lived. Nationalist historians have been particularly eager to avoid or circumvent the potentially unpleasant and the negative. They would rather blame pioneer circumstances and nativistic attitudes than scrutinize Ukrainian peasant lifestyles, something akin to admitting a flaw in the national character. For example, in painting a larger-than-life picture of the trials and labour of homestead families, Marunchak describes the floor of the primitive burdei (hut) as a "mud-hole" when it rained, but he cannot pursue the implications for health and living standards or its connection with the unfavourable Anglo-Canadian stereotype he condemns as unwarranted.[13] Children's deaths from illness or accident, portrayed in terms of mothers' tears and sacrifice or Anglo-Canadian indifference to Ukrainian suffering, have not been examined in relation to Ukrainian attitudes and practices concerning health and safety, whether imported or influenced by pioneer conditions.[14] Where Anglo-Canadians considered traditional Ukrainian foods unwholesome, Yuzyk claims they were "delicious and nutritious."[15] In response to Charles Young's contention that the Ukrainian woman's failure to prepare nourishing meals created widespread health problems, Krawchuk blames poor Ukrainian eating habits on poverty; this concedes imperfection, but his addendum that today "even the English" cannot praise Ukrainian national dishes too highly largely reduces the original issue to another example of Anglo-Canadian prejudice.[16]

While in nationalist histories the romantic side of Ukrainian folk customs and peasant life has eclipsed a balanced assessment of the material and spiritual quality of the home environment, progressive historians have been less reluctant to criticize. "Those who mourn the passing of the 'picturesque' phase of immigrant life," wrote Vera Lysenko in 1947, "do not realize that life in the picturesque thatched houses was crowded, mean, unhygienic and uncomfortable; they do not realize the hideous social tragedies that resulted, nor how the personalities of the younger generation were warped for life because of this environment."[17]

The Left's political preoccupation with the struggle for human dignity and justice in a system it holds to be based on dicrimination against the non-British and economic exploitation of the weak has made progressive historians more inclined to discuss aspects of Ukrainian Canadian life that do not always show the group to advantage. While nationalists have shunned the topic, progressives have also raised the issue of women's oppression and inequality. Speaking of Ukrainian domestics, for example, Krawchuk both stresses the economic exploitation of a powerless and unskilled labour force and ties the treatment of these women to the "Anglo-Saxon chauvinism" of their mistresses. What he does not do here or elsewhere, however, is to consider their oppression in light of the patriarchal structure of Canadian society acting in conjunction with the class structure. Nor does he address male dominance and female subordination in the Ukrainian Canadian community, perhaps because of their institutionalization in the pro-Soviet, pro-communist movement where he has been a longtime activist.[18] Writing personally, as a woman and as a member of the Canadian-born generation maturing between the wars, Vera Lysenko was more prepared to confront the gender hierarchy in Ukrainian Canadian life. "It was especially hard on the girls," she said:

> Conventions regulating the behaviour of girls, particularly in old country families, are stricter than those governing the conduct of boys. Some parents still exerted such authority over their daughters that they arranged marriages for them through the matchmakers. Yet girls were getting equal opportunities for education with their brothers. Modern ideas of sex equality - unheard-of in the old country where the woman was considered a man's chattel as much as his house, his pig, his cow - were accepted as a matter of course by us. When the strain of family life became too much for them, boys could and did break away from home. Girls usually stayed and endured the misery of an uncomfortable family life rather than defy conventions by leaving home.[19]

Until the 1970s, such critical self-analysis was unique in the writing of Ukrainian Canadian history. The nationalist stream, never broaching the subject of the "domestic drudge and beast of burden" image held by Anglo-Canadians, certainly never examined the reality behind it.[20] Women as women, with sex-prescribed roles and status that subordinated them to Ukrainian men, and women as persons garnered little sympathy. In that they referred to women, historians were guided not by the goal of improving women's position in society but by their commitment to the primacy of the group and its fate.

Nevertheless, the nationalist emphasis on progress and integration that valued "firsts" and success stories has necessarily valued individuals demonstrating socioeconomic or political achievement or cultural contribution to Canadian life. This tradition is understandably weaker in progressive historiography.[21] As notable Ukrainian Canadians, women lag behind men; they show better in the arts and letters than they do in business, industry, the professions and politics, reflecting the male preserve the latter have long been.[22] In the arts, where "child prodigy" violinist, Donna Grescoe, has symbolized Ukrainian talent and success for fifty years, 1960s' singer, "Juliette" Sysak, represents not only talent and success but also the legitimization of Ukrainian content on Canadian television.[23] Ukrainian women have moved up the occupational ladder as teachers, nurses and the like, although Lysenko identifies higher ambitions in the late 1940s and another woman, Ol'ha Woycenko, reaches outside such traditional female pursuits to Sylvia Fedoruk of Saskatoon, "the first woman physicist actively engaged in cancer research in Canada" and "undoubtedly one of Canada's most brilliant women."[24] Ukrainian women in prestigious political positions, elected or appointed, are a rarity. The acknowledged pioneer was Mary

Dyma, "the first woman of Ukrainian origin in Canada to gain a university degree, the first Ukrainian woman school trustee in Winnipeg, the first Ukrainian woman to contest a provincial election, and the first president of the Ukrainian Canadian Women's Committee."[25] Her public life is especially significant in that it bridged Ukrainian and mainstream worlds.

In contrast to Dyma, the majority of women profiled for community activity have been known and active only within Ukrainian Canadian circles. This is true not only of organizational and political work but also of literary and artistic endeavours. Most female writers, for example, represent immigrant generations and produce only in the Ukrainian language, and the reputations of many performers are confined to the Ukrainian Canadian stage. Individual Ukrainian Canadian women accorded recognition for their activities within the ethnic group alone do not perform the same function as individual Ukrainian Canadian women recognized for socioeconomic or cultural achievement in the larger Canadian context. The latter are primarily symbols and models of success and integration, in which Ukrainianness as a quality is secondary; the former are symbols and models of Ukrainian consciousness and service. While their identification with the Ukrainian Canadian community is voluntary, women successful in the mainstream are arbitrarily claimed by the group regardless of their own preferences or the fact that without an active and positive sense of themselves as Ukrainian Canadians their longterm potential as meaningful symbols and models is limited.

Unlike mainstream historiography when it considers Ukrainian Canadians, Ukrainian Canadian historians have emphasized women's "Ukrainian" roles as much as their "Canadian" or integrative experiences. The careful balance of both aspects of the dual identity in conventional Ukrainian Canadian history has meant that women and youth join adult males as unquestioned participants in community life. Indeed, an interpretative framework imposed to serve a group image and group needs, in which survival (in the face of external assimilatory pressures and indifference) is the ultimate objective, explains the more equitable consideration given Ukrainian Canadian women in their group's development than Canadian women received in traditional Canadian history.

While Beth Light and Veronica Strong-Boag might complain that male-dominated mainstream history exalted the Canadian Manufacturers' Association at the expense of the Young Women's Christian Association,[26] emphasis on Ukrainianness and Ukrainian Canadian community structures has resulted in the acceptance of Ukrainian Canadian women, as a matter of course, as actors in the group experience. Women who contribute through their art, for example, to Ukrainian consciousness ~~or identity~~ are as important as their male colleagues, for group function not gender is the criterion. Similarly, standard Ukrainian Canadian survey histories automatically sketch the structure, programs and leading personnel of women's and youth organizations.[27] Although presented as adjuncts to the male organizations defining religious and political divisions, organized women are depicted as a combination of complementary service to their male counterparts and independent activity. Describing the Ukrainian Catholic Women's League, Yuzyk writes: "It assists the Brotherhood [of Ukrainian Catholics] in the preparation of banquets and lunches and in the decoration of the parish halls and churches. The branches of this league often stage their own concerts and plays and conduct drives for funds to assist orphans, displaced persons, and Catholic institutions."[28] While such activities conform to prescribed "helping" or "maternal" roles, reflecting the kinship of Ukrainian Canadian women with their sex in mainstream circles, they are in the aid of Ukrainianness and the Ukrainian community, whether in Canada or overseas.

Ukrainian women's organizations were formed because women had specific needs, interests and responsibilities as Ukrainians. Reinforcing this emphasis on nationality before sex, giving Ukrainian issues precedence over female ones in their programs and stressing women's roles as Ukrainians, are women's own publications. Their organizational histories are of two types. Those written as part of commemorative volumes devoted to particular religious or political movements and often regional in focus treat women's organizations within the larger framework; they rarely go beyond skeleton outlines of founding dates, structural evolution, executive members, branches, conventions and generalized activities.[29] Those written specifically about individual women's organizations have also been anniversary publications favouring factual narrative and personalities. As celebrations of achievement, they tend to be non-analytical and self-congratulatory. One such publication begins:

> The Jubilee Conference which will be held in Toronto this year is the culmination of forty years of educational, cultural, and civic activities of the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada. Its justifiably jubilant character reflects the pride of its members in a monumental record of public service, the account of which is permeated by the indomitable spirit of Ukrainian women united in an organization that is distinctively and inspiringly their own.[30]

In spite of the uncritical tone and often pedantic detail of such histories, they clearly demonstrate the centrality of Ukrainian concerns to an organization's motivation and activities. The above history of the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada, for example, summarizes its work: youth education through Ukrainian kindergartens, scholarships, summer camps and the Ukrainian Canadian Youth Association; a Ukrainian folk arts museum and fostering of embroidery and Easter egg decorating; dissemination of information about Ukraine to the free world; financial support of Ukrainian institutions in Ukraine and Canada; cooperation with the Ukrainian women's movement in Europe; promotion of Canadian citizenship among Ukrainian immigrants; briefs to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism; and the home and family as bastion of ethnic culture. The centrality of Ukrainian concerns emerges even more forcibly in the philosophic and programmatic publications women's organizations sponsor. A major focus, for example, is the importance of the home, and of women as wives and mothers, in preserving and transmitting Ukrainian values.[31]

Given women's attention to their domestic as well as their public roles and responsibilities, it is worth remarking how little interest traditional Ukrainian Canadian historians have shown in Ukrainian women as homemakers or mainstays of culture preservation and transmission. Discussions of Ukrainian language or Christmas customs, for instance, occur in a vacuum, unrelated to the people whose traditional and changing roles and attitudes determine loss or maintenance.[32] Folk arts receive similar treatment. Ukrainian Canadian historians identify embroidery, Easter eggs and foods (all traditional female activities) as among the best preserved and most common expressions of Ukrainianness, but in their emphasis on the product they have ignored the relationship of these visible symbols of group identity to their creators and their practitioners.[33] Such omissions say something about historians' indifference to women's work and private realm, even when it impinges on group survival and identity. But they say more about the superficiality of the approach to the group experience in general and the need to reaffirm popular assumptions about the group's vitality which preclude examining it as a reflection of Ukrainian Canadian reality.

Besides organizational histories, a second source discussing the female experience to originate with women themselves is autobiography, and to a lesser extent biography. Biography in Ukrainian Canadian history is weakly developed and only one monograph, Irena Knysh's Patriotyzm Anny Ionker, has featured a woman. Eulogized as an "exemplary Canadian citizen and incomparable Ukrainian patriot," Anna Yonker symbolizes to Ukrainian nationalists the ideal community servant, performing an inspirational function similar to the "Great Women" of mainstream women's history.[34] The only collection of women's biography/autobiography is Zhinochi doli, published by the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians to mark the golden jubilee of organized women's life in the pro-Soviet, pro-communist movement; edited by Peter Krawchuk, it stresses the contribution of humble workers and organizational cadres, the unsung heroes of the kitchen and fund drives, as well as of more high-profile activists.[35] Autobiography has been considerably more popular than biography among Ukrainian Canadians, although women prominent in community life have not been as compelled as men to record their reminiscences. None of the pioneer female intelligentsia, for example, has published book-length memoirs.[36]

Most female reminiscences have been short, appearing in the periodical press, and have portrayed "ordinary" women, particularly homesteaders and homemakers in western Canada, many of whom also represented the silent rank-and-file membership of community organizations.[37] The family sections of the local histories currently in vogue in rural areas of the prairie provinces are additional sources of pioneer biography and autobiography, although highly anecdotal, superficial and selective. The majority reflect the perspective of the male immigrant and family "head," but others are written by women themselves or from their viewpoint. Their themes are those of the peasant pioneer and progress myths: women's toil and sacrifice for the future of her children, the building of her new homeland and the welfare of her people.[38]

In reminiscences closer to the period, however, progress is not the automatically understood reward or end. Much of the romanticized hardship and struggle and exaggerated image that the passage of time or a second generation attached to Ukrainian immigrant pioneer women is absent and more of the ugliness and blemishes are in evidence. The 1930s' memoirs of Maria Adamowska, for example, describe her mother's bitter disillusionment when the meanness of homestead life belies the propaganda of earlier immigrants, and they dispute a generalization of pioneer sharing and sisterhood on the frontier. Adamowska's account of how a Ukrainian neighbour woman threatened to club her for stealing a turnip out of hunger has little in common with the "tremendous sense of community" that Zonia Keywan claims "kept pioneer women going" or the hospitality she identifies as "a vital part of pioneer life."[39]

The current romanticization of the Ukrainian immigrant pioneer woman revolves around a larger-than-life figure who coped with everything - housework, fieldwork, childbearing and rearing, culture preservation - amid great isolation and poverty in a strange land. In some respects it parallels western Canadian nostalgia for the homesteading era when times were difficult but simpler and people were challenged to heroic feats. It also bears testimony to the pervasiveness and continuing attractiveness of the "Yuzyk view" of Ukrainian Canadian history and the widespread grip of the peasant pioneer and progress myths on Ukrainian Canadians. Dorothy Cherewick's "Woman in Ukrainian Canadian Folklore and Reminiscences," a master's thesis defended in 1980, illustrates this well.

Including oral and written pioneer memoirs within her definition of folklore, Cherewick focuses on the prairie provinces to approximately 1939, looking at rural and urban women in their personal, family and community lives. Her defence of her choice of subject, because "the Ukrainian pioneer woman in Canada has made such a tremendous contribution to the development of this country,"[40] roots the thesis firmly in the peasant pioneer and progress traditions. It also sets the stage for blurring the distinction between the Ukrainian woman's image in folklore and reminiscences, particularly the latter, and this image as a reflection of reality. As the image becomes the reality, the Ukrainian pioneer woman's qualities of beauty and charm, common sense and ingenuity, courage and determination, diligence and perseverance, generosity and hospitality, humility, religiosity, confidence in her own ability, eagerness and determination to get ahead, faithfulness as a wife and dedication as a mother, intelligence and sense of responsibility to Ukrainian community needs and her cultural heritage emerge as the facts for which folklore and reminiscences are the proof.[41] The fact, for example, is the Ukrainian pioneer woman's "good common sense and ingenuity"; the proof is a young girl's fashioning of a twig cross to stave off evil when lost in the bush.[42] A predetermined commitment to progress and heroic stature, and resultant emphasis on women's fine attributes, service and vision in their achievement, has produced a work bordering on hagiography. It was such a perspective that Ukrainian Canadian feminists challenged.

While Ukrainian Canadian feminists equally admire the Ukrainian immigrant pioneer woman, they have censured her oppression and exploitation and noted both the costs and limitations of progress. Not only the constraints of capitalist, male-dominated Anglo-Canadian society but also traditional sex roles in Ukrainian peasant culture, together with persisting inequalities in Ukrainian Canadian family and community life, have been targets of criticism. Helen Potrebenko's No Streets of Gold is the most stinging indictment of the role and status accorded Ukrainian Canadian women. Highly personal, with a feminist and Marxist perspective that yields uncompromising black-and-white analysis, the book is nevertheless refreshing in its focus on the Ukrainian working class as well as farm life, and in its sensitivity and attention to women.[43] Rejecting a steady march toward prosperity and integration as the inevitable rewards of Ukrainian toil and sacrifice, Potrebenko presents another side of the Ukrainian Canadian experience: unglorified poverty; endless drudgery by pioneer women that "never resulted in anything observable except survival"; callousness and fatalism encouraged by stark and precarious homestead life; and socioeconomic discrimination in mainstream circles because of ethnicity or ethnicity plus sex.[44] Potrebenko's discussion of male-female relationships, gender roles in peasant society and her own parents is frequently angry and bitter. "When the land was plowed for sowing," she writes, "whatever manure was available was scattered on the field by women....My father says you wouldn't expect men to get shit on their hands."[45] As a denunciation of the "Yuzyk view" of Ukrainian Canadian history, No Streets of Gold is damning. It had far less impact, however, than two contemporary publications by popular journalist and sister feminist, Myrna Kostash.

Kostash's "Baba Was a Bohunk" (in the prestigious Saturday Night) and All of Baba's Children (a general Ukrainian Canadian history based on the Two Hills area in Alberta) pursue similar themes. Their critique of Anglo-Canadian nativism, subservience and mythologizing by Ukrainian Canadians to dull the edges of an unpleasant reality, and multiculturalism as an empty sop to middle-class ethnics, challenged the group's comfortable self-image.[46] While Kostash's public use of the hated epithet "bohunk" was widely condemned, her deliberate choice of the female, baba (grandmother), to represent the pioneer immigrant passed relatively unnoticed. Like Potrebenko, Kostash stresses the Ukrainian female experience and treats it sympathetically. She, too, also criticizes the patriarchal and class structure of Ukrainian Canadian and Canadian society. Female illiteracy, for example,

> was one vicious circle notoriously difficult to break out of, for the so-called natural role of the female members of the family to service the needs of the males meant generations of women tied to the peasant economy while brothers and sons, thanks largely to women's labour, made their escape.[47]

The ordinary woman's resistance to oppression, through such actions as self-abortion to control her own reproductivity, had its parallel at the organizational level, where in spite of "the depressing sameness" of women's activities and emphasis on homemaking, references to Ukrainian female rulers, writers and revolutionaries were glimpses of "another, more rebellious, purpose to the women's organizations." Kostash concludes: "The fact that after them came a generation of feminists is not to be wondered at. Subversives in their own way, such women passed on the word of female dignity and female legitimacy in the human collective."[48]

By virtue of their books, Potrebenko and Kostash have been sought as experts on ethnicity and feminism. Both have approached the question from a personal perspective emphasizing the restrictive pressures and negative influences of being Ukrainian on being female. To Potrebenko, the women's movement provided an answer to the "second-class" status prescribed for women in the Ukrainian community and Canadian society and to her own failure to satisfy their standards and images of femininity.[49] Kostash explained her wholehearted adoption of Anglo-American culture at age fifteen as a rebellion against Ukrainian community expectations:

> I intuitively figured out that at the heart of...the concerned attempt [in the Ukrainian Canadian community] to preserve identity and resist assimilation, of the revivalism that is ethnic pride, lay the oppression of women....To serve "my people" in their struggle for cultural specificity I would have to maintain the so-called tradition of the Ukrainian woman: she goes straight from her father's house to her husband's, she devotes her time to the rearing of Ukrainian children (for this the mother must be constantly in their attendance, or they will be socialized by the anglo world) and the keeping of a Ukrainian home (needlework, bread-making, ritual observation), she provides her Ukrainian husband with an oasis of serenity, deference and loyalty, and she goes to church, there to be reconfirmed in her chaste, selfless and complacent Ukrainian identity.
>
> I turned and ran....I had to choose between ethnicity and personhood.[50]

Kostash's personal reconciliation of ethnicity and feminism, she says, came through experiences and awarenesses associated with the political radicalism of the 1960s; it fails, however, to grapple with how "radical ethnic feminists" are to relate to Ukrainian Canadian society as it exists or to attempt to work out a role for them in dialogue with the Ukrainian community.

Choosing between ethnicity and personhood is a dilemma faced by Canadian feminists who belong to minorities historically considering women inferior to men and imposing specific roles and responsibilities in the name of the group and its preservation. Both the women's movement and mainstream women's history have failed to appreciate that for many ethnic women the problem is not simply to improve women's position in society. It is to improve their position in WASP-dominated society (as women and as non-WASPs) while simultaneously improving their position (as women) within their group - with the latter's status in Canada and interest in survival, as well as their own feelings toward the preservation of all or part of their heritage, complicating their options. A priority of Jewish Canadian feminists, for example, has been to find an alternative to having "to make a radical choice between their heritage [with women excluded from the public realm, ritual and obligation - their identity defined by wife and mother] and their individuality."[51] Studying Judaism and Jewish history to learn about their rights, they discovered that many strictures on women derived from custom, not Law, and that both in the past had proven flexible to change. Armed with their knowledge, they began "to push out existing boundaries" for Jewish women as Jews:

> The process is maddeningly slow. It will take time for women's participation and involvement to become normal and normative, accepted and even expected. Yet for the sake of Jewish survival, women must continue their struggle to be accepted as full citizens, with the same faith, customs and abilities as men. Women must be counted as Jews. They are bound by the same covenant with God, committed to the survival and enrichment of the same people.[52]

Although lacking the concrete body of tradition and law to which

Jewish women can relate, either in support of conventional roles or in an attempt to broaden their participation and recognition in Jewish life, contemporary Ukrainian women have also begun to re-evaluate their position in the Ukrainian community and how they are to contribute to its survival and enrichment. The discussion is not limited to Kostash and Potrebenko, descendants of the peasant pioneers, or Ukrainian women in Canada. Daughters of displaced persons settling in the eastern United States after 1945, for example, have also rebelled against personal suffocation attending community-prescribed roles. The sole purpose of a girl's upbringing, one such woman charged, was marriage to a Ukrainian professional who provided the North American materialistic symbols of success and did the decision making for the Ukrainian community while she "produc[ed] more children for freeing Ukraine" and "embroider[ed] millions of yards of useless garments."[53] Other women, equally dissatisfied with existing conditions but identifying with Ukrainian concerns and group survival, have attempted a positive redefinition of their role in the community and its objectives. They seek a relationship that acknowledges women's rights to individual fulfilment and full partnership in the group experience and which accommodates the socioeconomic and cultural realities of their lives in contemporary North America.

In 1985, for example, Ukrainian Canadian feminists outside "establishment" community circles organized a conference to evaluate women's historical and present position in Ukrainian society and formal community structures, both in Ukraine and in Canada, and to explore issues pertinent to the ethnic identity, roles and expectations of Ukrainian Canadian women today. It addressed the Ukrainian implications of such themes as assimilation, intermarriage, youth and education, cultural maintenance, the workplace, artistic and literary creativity, and Ukrainian feminism as well as the more general question of the need to promote ethnic issues among mainstream feminists and feminist ideas in ethnic communities. Despite involvement by other ethnic women, particularly Jewish feminists, dialogue with and participation by women from traditionalist Ukrainian Canadian women's organizations, little inclined to query the status quo, was limited and strained.[54]

Building the Future, the community blueprint prepared for the umbrella Ukrainian Canadian Committee in 1986, identified "the very limited impact of the women's movement in mainstream society...on our organizations and their members" as a major reason for women's historical and continued subordinate role in community life. Its recommendations for community renewal in the face of "critical" assimilation and such trends among Ukrainian Canadians as low fertility, increasing intermarriage and high divorce included making women equal partners. "By excluding women from decision-making structures," it states,

> we fail to recognize issues that are of particular concern to women. This limits the involvement of women in our community's development, since many women choose to work in the mainstream women's movement where their specific concerns are addressed. Nor, moreover, should women's issues be of concern only to women. They must be addressed by all of us to ensure the full development of our community. Accordingly, specific initiatives that include a broad educational programme need to be implemented to deal with the central issue of equal opportunity for women.[55]

Whether such recommendations, largely the work of a small number of intellectuals and professionals, will be embraced by the male-dominated organizations comprising the Ukrainian Canadian Committee or by the existing women's organizations remains to be seen. Whether or not their implementation would cause the great majority of women now outside formal Ukrainian networks to gravitate to them is also uncertain. What is not in doubt is that community activists have identified the quality and extent of women's identification and involvement with the Ukrainian Canadian community, taking into account their changing profile and needs, as crucial to its future.

* * * * * * *

Like women's history in English and French Canada, writing about Ukrainian Canadian women has been inseparable from the society and group to which they belong. In its emphasis on upward mobility and examples of individual achievement, it has reflected the English Canadian tradition of attempting to improve women's position in society, with an important qualification. The concern has been less women's position in society itself than the progress and success of Ukrainian Canadian women as evidence of the progress, success and potential of women _as Ukrainians_ and of Ukrainians as a group. Ultimately, writing about the history of Ukrainian women in Canada has been closer to the French Canadian tradition of _la survivance_. But while French Canadians supported women's traditional roles as the means to survival, Ukrainian Canadians have also been committed to "progress" - with all the challenges to and tensions with women's traditional roles that that entailed. Much of the recent research, debate about being female and Ukrainian, and discussion of the group's future reiterates the concern for survival. But unlike earlier unquestioning attitudes, it looks at Ukrainian Canadian survival within the context of the past personal costs to women, gender inequalities within the Ukrainian Canadian community, and women's changing socioeconomic and cultural profile that is creating new pressures and needs, for both the community and women themselves.

Historically, the relationship between Ukrainian Canadian women and the group, as defined and projected by its elites, has been rooted in Ukrainian survival and identity. In many respects, how community spokespersons and activists have perceived women over the past century parallels women's depiction in the historical literature. In important ways, however, the images, roles and myths describing Ukrainian Canadian women retrospectively deviate from those describing them at various points in their history. The discrepancy reflects the difference between the community historian who wants a satisfying and tidy picture of the past and the community activist who wants to change the present, identifying women with his or her agenda and molding them in its interests. The first to attract the attention of their contemporaries were the peasant immigrant woman and her daughters.

FOOTNOTES

[1] The approach remains popular. See, for example, Manoly R. Lupul, ed., *A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada* (Toronto 1982); and my "The Ukrainians in Alberta," in *Peoples of Alberta: Portraits of Cultural Diversity*, ed. Howard Palmer and Tamara Palmer (Saskatoon 1985), 214-42.

[2] Charles H. Young, *The Ukrainian Canadians: A Study in Assimilation* (Toronto 1931), 45-6, 63-5, 85-8, 100-4, 122-4, 155-9, 169-70, 209-13, 223, 227-34, 238-9, 270-9, 298, 303.

[3] James S. Woodsworth, dir., "Ukrainian Rural Communities," mimeographed (Report of investigation by Bureau of Social Research, governments of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, Winnipeg 1917).

[4] Robert England, *The Central European Immigrant in Canada* (Toronto 1929). The scholarship teachers were asked to complete detailed questionnaires on their districts. Provision was made for describing women's domestic practices, material conditions in the home, the farmwife's attendance at community functions and the treatment of women.

[5] Marjorie Harrison, *Go West - Go Wise! A Canadian Revelation* (London 1930), 80-1. Harrison fully subscribed to the stereotype of East European immigrants as uncivilized, boorish and ignorant and warned of the dangers their large numbers posed for Canada (see 75-95).

[6] Two case studies of Ukrainians in Montreal, one by a Ukrainian Canadian, briefly examined the changes affecting women as Ukrainian peasant immigrants adapted to urban life. In contrast to contemporary and earlier prairie studies, both took the Ukrainians and not the Anglo-Canadian community or concerns of the general society as their starting point. See Stephen W. Mamchur, "The Economic and Social Adjustment of Slavic Immigrants in Canada: With Special Reference to the Ukrainians in Montreal" (M.A., McGill University, 1934); and Charles M. Bayley, "The Social Structure of the Italian and Ukrainian Immigrant Communities in Montreal, 1935-1937" (M.A., McGill University, 1939).

[7] Quoted in Petro Kravchuk, *Vazhki roky* (Toronto 1968), 43. See also John Hawkes, *The Story of Saskatchewan and Its People*, vol. 2 (Chicago 1924), 681-2.

[8] J.L. Granatstein, Irving M. Abella, David J. Bercuson, R. Craig Brown and H. Blair Neatby, *Twentieth Century Canada* (Toronto 198[illegible]), 248.

[9] Paul Yuzyk, *The Ukrainians in Manitoba: A Social History* (Toronto 1953), 33.

[10] See, for example, the relevant sections in the surveys by Yuzyk, ibid.; Michael H. Marunchak, *The Ukrainian Canadians: A History*, 2d ed. rev. (Winnipeg and Ottawa 1982); and Leonid Biletskyi, *Ukrainski pionery v Kanadi, 1891-1951* (Winnipeg 1951). The same approach characterizes the following works which focus exclusively on the period of the first immigration: Vladimir J. Kaye, *Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada, 1895-1900: Dr. Josef Oleskow's Role in the Settlement of the Canadian Northwest* (Toronto 1964); Iuliian Stechyshyn, *Istoriia poselennia ukraintsiv u Kanadi* (Edmonton 1975); and Jaroslav Petryshyn, *Peasants in the Promised Land: Canada and the Ukrainians, 1891-1914* (Toronto 1985).

[11] See, for example, Yuzyk, *Ukrainians in Manitoba*, 44-5; and Kravchuk, *Vazhki roky*, 52-3.

[12] Marunchak, *Ukrainian Canadians*, 96; overall mention of pioneer women is brief (see 34, 46, 50-2, 83-5, 88, 93-6). See also Stechyshyn, *Istoriia poselennia ukraintsiv u Kanadi*, 201.

[13] Marunchak, *Ukrainian Canadians*, 83. In a similar vein, Marunchak states that the results of unattended childbirth were "shocking to relate" (85), then avoids the issue by failing to discuss them.

[14] See, for example, Marunchak, *Ukrainian Canadians*, 44, 75, 85; and Stechyshyn, *Istoriia poselennia ukraintsiv u Kanadi*, 277-80.

[15] Yuzyk, *Ukrainians in Manitoba*, 44.

[16] Kravchuk, *Vazhki roky*, 57.

[17] Vera Lysenko, *Men in Sheepskin Coats: A Study in Assimilation* (Toronto 1947), 232.

[18] Kravchuk, *Vazhki roky*, 53-4; see also the introduction to Petro Kravchuk, comp., *Zhinochi doli* (Toronto 1973), i-xi, for the peculiar difficulties and discrimination facing Ukrainian female immigrants. Krawchuk's neglect of the subject of women's oppression in a patriarchal Ukrainian Canadian community reflects his contention that it has been long eradicated (although not without male resistance) in the progressive movement; Peter Krawchuk, "Ukrainian Women in Early History," *Ukrainian Canadian* (Mr 1972): 19. Unlike Krawchuk, however, neither Yuzyk (*Ukrainians in Manitoba*, 62-5) nor Marunchak (*Ukrainian Canadians*, 184-9) mention the phenomenon of female wage earners, concentrated in low-status and poorly paid jobs, when they discuss employment.

[19] Lysenko, *Men in Sheepskin Coats*, 241-2. Lysenko was also unusual, for both the traditional nationalist and progressive camps, in her attention to the pressures accompanying the push and pull of assimilation versus Ukrainian tradition; see, in particular, 238-52.

[20] Wife-beating, for example, was a taboo subject in conventional Ukrainian Canadian histories. Stechishin's mention of the well-publicized murder of a Ukrainian woman by her husband in 1901 has as its point not the treatment of women but the negative impression such actions created among outsiders; Stechyshyn, Istoriia poselennia ukraintsiv u Kanadi, 217. In sharp contrast to traditional avoidance of such topics is Jars Balan, Salt and Braided Bread: Ukrainian Life in Canada (Toronto 1984), 88-9, which accepts as fact the features of Ukrainian pioneer immigrant life that fostered the negative Anglo-Canadian stereotype: drunken weddings, wife-beating, child abuse, arranged marriages, child brides. And in her Greater Than Kings (Montreal 1977), Zonia Keywan identifies poor nutrition, overcrowding causing sickness, peasant fatalism, arbitrary marriages, and overworked women and unsanitary conditions producing high infant mortality rates as unpleasant realities of Ukrainian homesteading in western Canada (65-70, 88-98, 106-10, 115-20).

[21] Lysenko, Men in Sheepskin Coats, 270-9, is a major exception.

[22] For the treatment of Ukrainian Canadian women in economics, politics and the arts in the major standard histories, see Yuzyk, Ukrainians in Manitoba, 52-7, 140-1, 166-9, 201, 204; Marunchak, Ukrainian Canadians, 120, 529, 669-74, 690-8, 705, 709-10, 756-9, 772-87, 803-4, 859-67; Ol'ha Woycenko, Ukrainians in Canada, 2d ed. rev. (Ottawa and Winnipeg 1968), 33-4, 42, 52, 95-6, 155-6, 177-9; Biletskyi, Ukrainski pionery v Kanadi, 65-8, 75-94; and Semen Kovbel, comp., and Dmytro Doroshenko, ed., Propamiatna knyha Ukrainskoho narodnoho domu u Vynypegu (Winnipeg 1949), 605-27. An excellent example of the different emphases accorded male and female notables in public life is F.A. Macrouch, comp., Ukrainian Year Book and Ukrainians of Distinction, 1953-1954 (Winnipeg 1953-4), 57-81. Allotted two of the twenty-five pages devoted to "Ukrainians of Distinction," women are represented by a pianist, two violinists, a music conductor and librarian, a Slavicist, a veteran of the Ukrainian women's movement in Galicia and interwar senator in the Polish sejm, and a municipal politician and community activist.

[23] On Grescoe alone, see, for example, Lysenko, Men in Sheepskin Coats, 272; Yuzyk, Ukrainians in Manitoba, 106-7; Marunchak, Ukrainian Canadians, 456; and, for community press commentary, Opinion (N 1946).

[24] Lysenko, Men in Sheepskin Coats, 179; and Woycenko, Ukrainians in Canada, 155-6. In 1987 Fedoruk, then chancellor of the University of Saskatchewan, was named to the Order of Canada; see Edmonton Journal (17 Ja 1987).

[25] Yuzyk, Ukrainians in Manitoba, 158. Yuzyk could have added that Dyma also held the first presidency of the Ukrainian Catholic Women's League, was active in the Canadian Women's Club and had a Winnipeg branch of the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire named after her.

[26] Beth Light and Veronica Strong-Boag, True Daughters of the North: Canadian Women's History, An Annotated Bibliography (Toronto 1980), 6.

[27] For the treatment of Ukrainian Canadian women in organizational and community life in the major standard histories, see Yuzyk, *Ukrainians in Manitoba*, 82-8, 104, 118, 122, 204; Woycenko, *Ukrainians in Canada*, 97, 190, 192, 210; and Marunchak, *Ukrainian Canadians*, 104, 134-6, 151-3, 164, 167, 176, 188, 194-207, 218, 255-6, 333, 376, 381, 390-2, 411-7, 443-5, 462-3, 481-2, 487-90, 496, 500-1, 513, 524, 529, 532, 539, 546, 564, 601-2, 641, 662-79, 693-9, 761-71, 805-24.

[28] Yuzyk, *Ukrainians in Manitoba*, 82-3.

[29] The first such publication emerged from the progressive camp; in *Almanakh Tovarystva ukrainskyi robitnycho-farmerskyi dim v Kanadi i bratnikh organizatsii, 1918-1929* (Winnipeg 1930), the women's branches of the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association are mentioned only under the main ULFTA organization in a given locality. For an early nationalist example, see *Iuvileina knyha ukraintsiv katolykiv Saskachevanu, 1905-1955* (Saskatoon 1955), especially "Liga ukrainskykh katolytskykh zhinok/Ukrainian Catholic Women's League" (63-79), "Sestry sluzhebnytsi v Saskachevani" (179-86), and Anna Mariia Baran, "Zavdannia ukrainky chlenkyni LUKZh" (188-90).

[30] Natalia Lewenec-Kohuska, *Forty Years in Retrospect, 1926-1966*, trans. Sonia Cipywnyk (Hamilton 1967), 3. Jubilee histories produced by the other senior nationalist women's organizations include Irena Knysh, ed., *Na sluzhbi ridnoho narodu: Iuvileinyi zbirnyk Orhanizatsii ukrainok Kanady im. Olhy Basarab u richchia vid zaisnuvannia, 1930-1955* (Winnipeg 1955), which is national in scope; and Iryna Pavlykovska, ed., *Dlia Boha, tserkvy i narodu: Liga ukrainskykh katolytskykh zhinok edmontonskoi ieparkhii v 1944-1964 rokakh, pochatky i diialnist* (Edmonton [1966]), which is local in focus. An exception to the superficial approach, although no less a celebration of achievement, is Claudia Helen Popowich, *To Serve Is To Love: The Canadian Story of the Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate* (Toronto 1971), a serious history of the order.

[31] See, for example, Soiuz ukrainok Kanady, *Na storozhi kultury* (Winnipeg 1947); and Tonia Horokhovych, *Batky i dity* (Winnipeg and Toronto 1965). See also such independent publications as Dariia Elysaveta Iandova, *Ukrainska zhinka na usluhakh svoho narodu* (Edmonton 1952); and Irena Knysh, *Zhinka vchora i sohodni: Vybrani statti* (Winnipeg 1958).

[32] Marunchak, *Ukrainian Canadians*, 625-31, 717-21, 742-55, 868-71, illustrates this approach with respect to language maintenance. Neither the triumphs of Ukrainian-language studies at Canadian universities and publicly-funded bilingual education since the Second World War nor mother tongue figures in the "Decade of Multiculturalism" are related to continuing language loss, which in fact fails to warrant mention.

[33] See, for example, the major standard histories: Yuzyk, *Ukrainians in Manitoba*, 45-6, 84, 122, 151, 160-2, 170-3; Woycenko, *Ukrainians in Canada*, 23, 27-34, 177; and Marunchak, *Ukrainian Canadians*, 95, 458.

[34] Irena Knysh, Patriotyzm Anny Ionker (Winnipeg 1964), 181. Yonker identified closely with the Ukrainian women's movement, advocated involvement with the National Council of Women in Canada, contributed generously to Ukrainian cultural and humanitarian causes in Ukraine and Canada, and actively publicized conditions in interwar Ukraine in mainstream circles. Her funeral eulogy in 1936 acknowledged a "builder of this new Canadian nation, a nation strong in its union of various races and creeds with different historical backgrounds and cultures" (186).

[35] Kravchuk, Zhinochi doli, x. The biographical sketches originally appeared in the Ukrainian communist organ, Zhyttia i slovo, to mark the golden jubilee of organized women's life in the progressive movement.

[36] The transcript of an interview with Savella Stechishin, pioneer activist in the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada, journalist and government home economist working with Ukrainian Canadian women, in Dorothy Cherewick, "Woman in Ukrainian Canadian Folklore and Reminiscences" (M.A., University of Manitoba, 1980), 183-93, is a partial exception. The first community attempt to compile a history of Ukrainians in Canada, Kovbel and Doroshenko's Propamiatna knyha Ukrainskoho narodnoho domu u Vynypegu, contains two lengthy biography/memoir sections but only two entries concern women (Anna Yonker and Maria Adamowska).

[37] Of late, written memoirs have been augmented by oral history. See Frances A. Swyripa, Oral Sources for Researching Ukrainian Canadians: A Survey of Interviews, Lectures and Programmes Recorded to December 1980, Research Report No. 11 (Edmonton 1985). Women are well represented, particularly as pioneer immigrants in western Canada. An oral history project undertaken in the early 1980s by the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Alberta focused on individuals active in Ukrainian Canadian organizations. That male informants far outnumbered female reflects the underlying assumption that male activities and perspectives define community life.

[38] For how these volumes treat women within the family and homesteading experience and their organized activity as part of community life, see the following local histories from Alberta: Andrew Historical Society, Dreams and Destinies: Andrew and District (Andrew 1980); Steve Hrynew, ed., Pride in Progress: Chipman-St. Michael-Star and Districts (Chipman 1982); and Mundare Historical Society, Memories of Mundare: A History of Mundare and District (Mundare 1980). For the themes of larger-than-life women, their toil and sacrifice, see also Zonia Keywan, "Women Who Won the West," Branching Out (N-D 1975): 17-9; and Apolonja Kojder, "Slavic Immigrant Women in Northwestern Saskatchewan During the Depression," Canadian Woman Studies 4, no. 2 (W 1982): 84-5.

[39] Keywan, "Women Who Won the West," 19. See Adamowska's reminiscences (published in Kalendar-almanakh Ukrainskoho holosu in 1937 and 1939) in Land of Pain, Land of Promise: First Person Accounts by Ukrainian Pioneers, 1891-1914, comp. and trans. Harry Piniuta (Saskatoon 1978), 53-78.

[40] Cherewick, "Woman in Ukrainian Folklore and Reminiscences," ii.

[41] Ibid., 1-87. The appendix, comprising two-thirds of the thesis, contains the transcripts of Cherewick's interviews with pioneer women. Significantly, over half of her seventeen informants are identifiable as members of the elite (teachers, nuns, priests' wives, community activists, teachers' wives).

[42] Ibid., 13.

[43] Helen Potrebenko, No Streets of Gold: A Social History of Ukrainians in Alberta (Vancouver 1977). The book rather breathlessly combines autobiography, pioneer reminiscences (many by women from Zhyttia i slovo), general Ukrainian Canadian history, and provincial and national developments. It nevertheless creates some very powerful visual images, particularly of women's lot.

[44] Potrebenko, No Streets of Gold, quote 78.

[45] Ibid., 46.

[46] Myrna Kostash, "Baba Was a Bohunk," Saturday Night (Oc 1976): 33-8; and All of Baba's Children (Edmonton 1977). For reaction to the original article, see, for example, "Was Baba a Bohunk? A Discussion," Journal of Ukrainian Graduate Studies 2, no. 1 (Sp 1977): 69-78. My own review of All of Baba's Children attempts to examine Kostash's book within the context of Ukrainian Canadian historiography; see Canadian Ethnic Studies 10, no. 1 (1978): 58-61.

[47] Kostash, All of Baba's Children, 71; for other references to women, see 14, 22-3, 57-74, 149-50, 164-8, 172-8, 197-220, 353-5.

[48] Ibid., 168.

[49] Potrebenko, No Streets of Gold, 297-303; and Helen Potrebenko and Zonia Keywan, "Ethnicity and Femininity as Determinants of Life Experience," Canadian Ethnic Studies 13, no. 1 (1981): 38-42. In the latter article, unlike Potrebenko, Keywan stresses the positive influences of growing up female in the post-1945 Ukrainian immigrant community, with her mother (a doctor in Europe) as a role model and equal participation by men and women in the Ukrainian organizations her parents supported.

[50] Myrna Kostash, "The Fusion of Identity: Ethnicity and Feminism," Student (N 1979): 8.

[51] Norma Baumel Joseph, "Personal Reflections on Jewish Feminism," in The Canadian Jewish Mosaic, ed. M. Weinfeld, W. Shaffir and I. Cotler (Toronto 1981), 208. An outgrowth of American Jewish feminism, the Canadian movement was smaller, less well organized and not as confrontational or involved in dialogue with religious leaders.

[52] Ibid., 219.

[53] Christine Lukomsky, "Growing Up Female and Ukrainian," Student (Mr-Ap 1978): 6, 12 (reprinted from New Directions, Sp 1973). Ukrainian

Canadian Stepha Dmytriw accused Lukomsky of selling her heritage for professional recognition in the Anglo-American mainstream and of showing disrespect for her homeland, Ukraine, and she defended the women's crafts that represent "some of the richest, most enchanting Ukrainian tranditions [sic]"; see Stepha Dmytriw, "Liberty, Equality and Sorority," Student (F 1979): 3.

[54] The tape-recorded proceedings of the Second Wreath Conference, held at the University of Alberta in October 1985, are available from the Second Wreath Society in Edmonton, which plans to publish selected papers. In the United States, the "establishment" Ukrainian National Women's League of America sponsored a conference in 1982 that examined many of the same themes but without attempting to reach beyond the Ukrainian group; see the report, "Ukrainska zhinka u dvokh svitakh," Vidnova 1, no. 1 (Su-Au 1984): 169-71.

[55] Ukrainian Community Development Committee, Prairie Region, Building the Future: Ukrainian Canadians in the 21st Century, A Blueprint for Action (Edmonton 1986), 14-5, 33-4. See also Sonia Maryn, "Ukrainian-Canadian Women in Transition: From Church Basement to Board Room," Journal of Ukrainian Studies 10, no. 1 (Su 1985): 89-96.

CHAPTER V

THE PEASANT IMMIGRANT

On an isolated homestead in northern Alberta old Marta Yaramko puttered in her flower garden, distracted by the needling pain that she sensed signalled her death. As she laboured, thoughts of immortality, good and evil, human hope and futility crowded her head - and she marvelled that she, a simple Ukrainian peasant woman, dared to contemplate such lofty themes. She thought too about her own life with only her flowers and the constant wind as companions, alienated from the past of her parents, the self of her youth and the future of her children alike. "She was a part of Canada, of course," Marta reflected:

> Somewhere, carefully tucked away, she even kept her naturalization certificate. To get it she had merely to declare before a witness that she loved the country and would be loyal to it. But Canada seemed to her less a country than an immense map with strange cut-outs, especially in the North; or was it no more than a sky, a deep and dream-filled waiting, a future in suspense? Sometimes it seemed her life had been spent on the edge of the country, in some vague zone of wind and loneliness that Canada might yet embrace. For how could those in Volyn, now reduced to a handful, old and complaining, have reached out and touched it? They were no longer quite Ukrainian but not quite Canadian either, poor lost folk, so discouraged it seemed there was no way they could help themselves except perhaps by disappearing.
>
> She raised a baffled gaze to the sky, wide and immense ...."Will you ever tell us why we came so far, what wind blew us here, what we're doing here, the poor of Ukraine, in these farthest prairies of Canada?"[1]

Gabrielle Roy's poignant tale of a woman's search for purpose and identity in the solitude of her marriage, her immigrant condition and an overwhelming landscape, Garden in the Wind captures the marginality of the Ukrainian women who settled western Canada in the opening decades of the twentieth century. While the bloc settlement pattern surrounded the great majority with their own kind, the homesteading system and primitive transportation imposed a social and physical isolation unknown in the close-knit villages they had left. Moreover, the language and peasant cultural baggage that provided assurance and continuity segregated them from the host society and other immigrant groups as effectively as did the bloc settlements themselves. They complicated adaptation in the broader sense, while inviting the intrusion of Anglo-Canadian assimilationists, social reformers and educators critical of Ukrainian lifestyles and attitudes, including the treatment of women and women's own habits and outlooks.

Unlike their interwar counterparts, one-half of whom immigrated as single domestics, most adult Ukrainian women arriving in Canada at the turn of the century came as members of family units - as wives, mothers, daughters, sisters. They were generally young; even more rural, unworldly and illiterate than their menfolk who outnumbered them as immigrants; and the product of a peasant culture in which they were essential to the functioning of the family as the basic unit of production and consumption but nevertheless inferior beings subject to male authority. The immigrant generation experienced the trauma of uprooting and bore the brunt of pioneering in a strange and virgin land, but in many respects it was least challenged and changed by the new environment. The subsistence agriculture characteristic of homesteading ensured women's continued indispensability to family survival, while the bloc settlements and women's limited mobility not only prevented the penetration of contemporary Anglo-Canadian ideas concerning the female sex but also reduced the exposure of Ukrainian women to discrimination, exploitation and direct assimilative pressures. Compared to Canada's impact on the women's daughters, or on Ukrainian men, forced to seek work or otherwise conduct business in an often hostile "English" world, the conditions of Ukrainian immigrant life initially preserved women's traditional status and roles - delaying modernization and emancipation but shielding them from the uglier aspects of Anglo-Canadian nativism.

Their relative immobility and the exclusiveness of the bloc settlements that retarded women's Canadianization also retarded their Ukrainization - the sense of differentness and inferiority that emerged in reaction to Ukrainians' ambiguous reception and lowly position in Canadian society, and the Ukrainian national consciousness that expressed identification with a Ukrainian nation and group goals. Because of the Ukrainian social milieu and community organization that Ukrainian neighbours naturally produced, women in the large rural colonies in the prairie provinces were seldom confronted with their ethnicity. They could simply be (and were) Ukrainian, without having to grapple with the political and socioeconomic implications of belonging to a disadvantaged minority or making conscious decisions or observations about their relationship to their group.[2]

As it assumed its self-imposed stewardship of Ukrainians in Canada, the emerging community elite showed little interest in the immediate needs and realities of immigrant women as they coped with emigration and pioneering or in the women themselves as persons and individuals. However, the passivity of their Ukrainianness, together with the ignorance, apathy toward the outside world and low standard of living that prevailed among Ukrainian peasant women in Europe and which pioneer conditions in Canada sustained and even exaggerated, quickly became targets of concern. Unenlightened women, blind or indifferent to self-improvement and to their national and social responsibilities as members of a larger community, both embarrassed and encumbered the Ukrainian group. They not only aggravated its unfavourable image among Anglo-Canadians and obstructed the progress necessary to improve its position in Canadian society but also jeopardized the quality of its Ukrainian consciousness and commitment. The attitudes and resources Ukrainian women brought to participation in Ukrainian community life, but more particularly to their roles within the family as mothers and homemakers, were perceived as crucial to the prosperity, status and Ukrainian identity of their group.

Community spokespersons and activists acknowledged the peasant immigrant woman's daughters as their primary focus and the essential force to harness to assure and shape the future. But they realized that they had to begin with the peasant immigrant herself. Through her dominance in the home, she held the key to her family's attitudes toward both socioeconomic progress and identification with things Ukrainian. And she held the key to her daughters' attitudes toward their own maternal, domestic and public responsibilities.

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The Ukrainian peasant woman stopping at the Immigration Hall in Winnipeg before the last stage of her journey to a Canadian homestead was undoubtedly experiencing great emotional turmoil. Like all emigrants, whether looking forward to their adventure or not (and many Ukrainian women did), she had bid farewell to loved ones and everything familiar and dear.[3] If she came to join a husband already working or farming in Canada, she had borne additional burdens as head of the family responsible for the mechanics of the voyage and her children's well-being. In all likelihood, she had taken her first train ride and boat trip (in the hold of a trans-Atlantic steamer), seen her first street lights, encountered her first cook stove, and bought her first loaf of the "English" bread that seemed so tasteless. In all likelihood, too, she had suffered stares and ridicule for the peasant attire that made her an exotic sight on a Canadian railway platform.[4] She had just travelled a thousand miles through rock and forest and was about to be swallowed by a prairie that must have appeared equally unpeopled and endless.

A few weeks earlier, she had been part of a well-defined Galician or Bukovynian village where, however, socioeconomic crisis undermining its traditional peasant lifestyle was forcing the more desperate or ambitious overseas. Also challenging entrenched authority figures and the order they represented were local *chytalni* or reading halls, various cooperative ventures and loan societies, working to enlighten and awaken the national consciousness of the village peasantry and to put commerce in Ukrainians' own hands. On all sides, the control and influence of the Polish landlord; Jewish inn and shopkeeper, moneylender and leaseholder; and Greek Catholic priest over the Ukrainian peasant were increasingly questioned and resisted. But the church and tavern remained major village institutions - the one encouraging submission to God and priest, the other to alcohol in a province where alcoholism was rampant[5] - and they, together with their new opposition, dominated social life. And if the peasant needed work, either because he was landless or because of a shortfall in his farming operation, he still looked first to the manor to employ him and his family. His wife and children earned a fraction of what he did working in the fields, while his children often tended flocks and herds or his daughters became domestic servants in return for room and board.[6] Life's cycles, the seasons and holy days dictated the rhythms of village life, their observance regulated by ancient rituals and superstitions subsequently fused with those of Christianity. The peasants' belief system both governed individual actions, prescribing behaviour for every situation, and provided different members of society with specific roles and responsibilities.

The roles and responsibilities devolving to women in the ritual observances of Ukrainian peasant society and a world inhabited by spirits emphasized women's associations with fertility, the hearth and evil. The peasant wife ensured a bountiful harvest by sprinkling the unsown fields, her husband, the plough and cattle with a palm leaf dipped in holy water, then casting the remains and an egg into the furrow. She also ensured her family's health and safety. It was her duty, for example, to guard against the evil eye, sucking out suspected bewitchment from her children's foreheads and spitting it into the four corners of the room with the appropriate incantation. Alongside the taboos and rituals permeating her daily routines in the interests of her household's happiness and prosperity, equally elaborate taboos and rituals with similar ends governed her major female passages of marriage and childbirth. Pestilence and other scourges assumed female personae in peasant lore, while in the village individuals known to be witches could cause storms or dry up cows; all peasant societies are suspicious of the successful, putting the Ukrainian woman always able to find mushrooms in league with the Devil.[7]

Power and authority in the world of ritual or the spirits, however, did not translate into power and authority in the real world of socio-economic and gender relations. A women was indispensable to the peasant family economic unit, not only exclusively responsible for the house, children and garden but also expected to contribute to the farming operation. As such, marriage was considered inevitable (and carried prestige); a girl married young, in her late teens or early twenties; and a wedding was not simply a private commitment between bride and groom but entailed the formal exchange of property between families and thus engaged the interest of the entire village. Ukrainian proverbs testify to the importance of the peasant woman: "Being without a wife is like being without hands." But they also indicate that women were ultimately male property: "I love my wife but only at night; in the day I work her like a horse" or "An unbeaten wife is like an unsharpened scythe."[8] The oppression and inferior status of women in Ukrainian peasant society had various expressions. The land a woman received as part of her dowry, for example, was controlled by her husband even if registered in her name. A wife traditionally walked behind her mate, a practice condemned by immigrants in Canada who claimed that the English, and even Ukrainian children, derisively referred to it as the "Galician style" of walking. And sexual transgressions were punished more severely in the case of the woman than the man.[9]

Conditions were exacerbated by the drudgery and monotony of daily life coupled with the crippling poverty and ignorance that affected women's abilities and energies as mothers and homemakers. Almost ninety per cent of Ukrainian peasant women in late nineteenth-century Galicia were illiterate. If they bore many children, they also buried many, for a high infant mortality assisted by disease and uninformed childcare somewhat relieved an even higher birth rate. Primitive food preparation and an unbalanced, starch-rich diet reflected the housewife's lack of knowledge and the limited resources available; like unrefined table etiquette, simple home-made furniture and casual ideas about hygiene, they attested to and reinforced the peasants' low standard of living.[10] But life also had its amusements, its vanities and its beauty. Girls gathered on winter evenings to tell their fortunes; women took pride in the strand of coral highlighting their strings of beads; and their peasant folk art gave women a fulfilling creative outlet increasingly extolled and encouraged for its national significance and profitability.[11]

Moreover, the lot of Ukrainian peasant women was receiving attention, due in part to the general campaign to enlighten and politicize the Galician village. But it also emerged as a specific concern of the new women's organizations representing the female intelligentsia and the more conservative circles of priests' wives and daughters and townswomen. With often different priorities and ideas about women's place in society, they were united in their support of women's right to education and its necessity for the Ukrainian cause. Agitation for access to higher education, of immediate benefit to the privileged few, was accompanied by agitation for practical education and enlightenment among peasant women (including home economics and handicrafts instruction and national awakening), outreach to urban domestics, and the organization of female workers. The nationally-oriented socialist and feminist founding the women's movement in 1884, Natalia Kobrynska, also spearheaded the establishment of rural daycare centres and agitated for communal kitchens to help peasant women as industrialization increasingly forced them to work outside the home without relieving their domestic responsibilities. Concrete results prior to 1914 were modest, but claims were made that a significant breakthrough in peasant attitudes toward female education had occurred.[12] Proof that enlightenment had left its mark in a politicized consciousness were the village peasant women who participated, albeit in limited fashion, in their local reading club.[13]

Few Ukrainian women immigrating to Canada before the First World War could be considered members of the activist female intelligentsia, although the letters of the literate to the immigrant press were to demonstrate a keen interest in their sex, their group and their nation. Priests' wives, affected by the Vatican proscription against married clergy, did not join the movement to Canada.[14] This left the vast majority of female immigrants as peasants - unworldly, still steeped in superstition and ritual although not immune to the changes underway in their villages, accustomed to a mean and frugal existence, and subject to the authority of their menfolk. Most went to homesteads in western Canada.[15] There they were surrounded by their own kind but instead of the closeness and well-established structures of village life, each family occupied a quarter section of bushed land to be brought into production with limited material resources and technology. The natural homesickness, isolation and workload of the Ukrainian pioneer woman increased when cash shortages forced her husband to leave in search of work. Lacking his mobility and thus opportunities to learn English and Anglo-Canadian ways, additionally handicapped by the restrictions of her society against women, she remained "peasant" and "Ukrainian" longer than her husband or children. That "peasantness" and "Ukrainianness" were to attract the attention of the small immigrant intelligentsia and new socioeconomic elite assuming the role of spokespersons and mentors for their group.

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Dictating the outlook and activities of pioneer Ukrainian community leaders were coincidental nationbuilding efforts in Canada and Ukraine; the absence of established elites and traditional institutional structures, combining with Canadian influences to give organized community life and its leadership a new complexion; and the peasant immigrants' cultural baggage. The demands of Canadian nationbuilding, responsible for Ukrainians' very presence in the country, exaggerated the gulf between them and middle-class English Canada, while making intolerable the Ukrainian consciousness that Ukrainian nationbuilding in turn fostered and demanded. Ukrainians' negative image and low status, the prejudice and discrimination they faced, and the pressures to assimilate to Anglo-Canadian standards and ideals reflected Canadian nationbuilding priorities as much as their own cultural baggage. From the perspective of Ukrainian nationbuilding, the peasant immigrants' attitudes and behaviour were equally open to criticism. They imperilled not only the group's prospects for upward mobility and full integration into Canadian life but also its ability both to assist the homeland and to ensure its survival as a distinct community. The interpretation and translation of these concerns into concrete programs of action reflected the views of the traditionally powerful Greek Catholic Church and elements opposed to it evolving from overlapping secular nationalist, socialist and anti-clerical currents in Galician Ukrainian intellectual and political life.[16] A society in the making, rooted in democratic principles and liberty, Canada was seen as an unconscious ally of the proponents of change. But to the Greek Catholic Church and faithful, it portended the loss of control.

Already challenged in Galicia by the secular intelligentsia and radical villagers, the Greek Catholic Church found that emigration further eroded its authority and prestige. Subordination to the French-dominated Roman Catholic hierarchy and the use of non-Ukrainian, celibate Latin-rite priests created a spiritual and political crisis. It invited the intrusion of the Russian Orthodox and Anglo-Canadian Presbyterian and Methodist churches, each proselytizing for its earthly masters as well as for God; and it alienated Ukrainians accustomed to worship in the Greek rite under married priests of their own nationality. Ecclesiastical independence in 1913 only partially regularized and reversed the situation.[17] Vatican policy disallowing married Greek Catholic clergy in North America introduced unfamiliar monastic priests who were, moreover, too few in number to establish permanent presences in dispersed and undeveloped pioneer communities. Latinisms, the continued use of non-Ukrainian priests and no assurance that the Greek Catholic bishop in Canada would be Ukrainian opened the church to charges of denationalization and contributed to its failure to reassert its old authority.

Anti-clerical and socialist circles exploited the church's weakness and Canadian conditions to shed unwanted old-country controls. The indigenous roots of Ukrainian Protestantism, identified with the Independent Greek movement until absorbed by the Presbyterian Church in 1913, were increasingly overshadowed by its ties with Anglo-Canadian Methodism and Presbyterianism as financial reliance created pressures to adopt their dogma and prejudices as well.[18] Ukrainian socialists also maintained ties with sectors of mainstream society dedicated to other than specifically Ukrainian group goals. By the end of the revolutionary years in Ukraine, the progressive movement had abandoned agrarian socialism for Marxism, support of the Bolsheviks (which led to its temporary banning in 1917), and identification with the new Soviet state in the homeland.[19] Anglicization and Bolshevization cost Protestants and progressives respectively many pioneer adherents, including several leading figures, as the Great War and Ukrainian Revolution strengthened the immigrants' Ukrainian identity and made the nationalists the most dynamic voice in the community.

Secular nationalists who had objected to the Greek Catholic Church's authoritarianism without wishing to break with it began also to query the Canadian body's ability to represent and defend Ukrainian interests. In 1918 they established the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada to resolve questions concerning both the Ukrainian character of the Greek Catholic Church and its undemocratic structure.[20] Greek Catholic circles and secular nationalists, together with the church the latter spawned, shared opposition to both the fading Protestants and the progressives. As the fundamental cleavage in the Ukrainian Canadian community solidified, pitting progressives against a broad nationalist coalition sympathetic to the ill-fated Ukrainian People's

Republic, Greek Catholics and nationalists grouped around the Orthodox Church remained divided. But each was committed to what had always been common objectives: their group's image and status in Canada, its Ukrainian consciousness and linguistic-cultural survival, and moral and material assistance to the national struggle in Ukraine.

As competing factions confronted the peasant immigrant population they hoped to influence, the press was both a practical educational tool and an ideological weapon. By 1920, over seventy publications had reached out to a group that arrived in Canada largely illiterate. They included *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* (1911) and its successor *Kanadiiskyi ukrainets* (1919), official organs of the Greek Catholic Church; *Robochyi narod* (1909), organ of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party; the Methodist *Kanadyiets* (1912) and Presbyterian *Ranok* (1905), merging in 1920 *Kanadiiskyi ranok*; and *Kanadiiskyi farmer* (1903) and *Ukrainskyi holos* (1910), both reflecting the views of the secular nationalists, the latter eventually the mouthpiece of the lay organizations of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church.[21] Each faction realized that success rested on the widespread motivation and transformation of individuals. Each also felt the weight of ingrained attitudes and behaviour patterns accompanying the immigrants to Canada. The most persistent themes in the Ukrainian pioneer press were *temnota* (darkness or ignorance), *baiduzhnist* (indifference), *prosvita* (enlightenment) and *postup* (progress). The first two described the peasant immigrants' Galician legacy, the last two their hope for the future. Responsibility for the ignorance the Ukrainian masses exhibited, the oppression to which it testified and the apathy it produced depended on the faction speaking, as did definitions of the enlightenment and progress that were to be their remedy.

Protestant leaders blamed an authoritarian, immoral and uncaring Greek Catholic Church and its priests for the evils plaguing Ukrainian peasant society. To keep the people bound to Rome they had to be kept ignorant and oppressed. Lauding the new homeland as a free country, Protestants insisted that no longer could priests live like lords above the people and state.[22] Progressives, too, located the peasant immigrants' ignorance and oppression in their old-country heritage, particularly their own "priests and patriots" who attempted to turn them against the farmers and workers of other nationalities - their Ukrainian patriotism with its slogan, "svii do svoho" (buy Ukrainian - literally, each to his own), a camouflage for the socioeconomic exploitation of the masses.[23] Obviously considering neither itself nor its priests a cause of admitted deficiencies in Ukrainian peasant and immigrant life, the Greek Catholic Church, like the secular nationalists, perceived them primarily as national issues. Ukrainians had their faults because they were a dark and ignorant mass, a correspondent told Kanadiiskyi farmer, and they were a dark and ignorant mass because of centuries of slavery under foreign masters who knew that only an ignorant people could be held in subjugation.[24] National oppression was also synonymous with socioeconomic oppression as the Ukrainians' long-time political overlord in Galicia was his social and economic superior as well. The Polish landowner (and his Jewish agent) received the brunt of the blame in clerical and secular nationalist circles for the shortcomings of the peasant immigrant in Canada, particularly his addiction to alcohol that reflected the landlord's monopoly of liquor production and sale and the Jew's role as vendor.[25]

To all factions, alcohol was the major scourge of the peasantry in

Galicia and immigrants in Canada alike, responsible for physical debilitation, material poverty and the demoralization pervading Ukrainian immigrant life. But alcohol abuse also had ideological implications. Ukrainian Protestants blamed a church that neither provided uplifting leadership nor condemned a crippling evil; the drunken "Catholic" Ukrainian wedding, for example, notorious among Anglo-Canadians, demonstrated the moral and spiritual bankruptcy of church teachings and incense-burning, icon-kissing priests.[26] Progressives condemned both alcohol and illiteracy as instruments of the exploiters of the toiling masses, ensuring their bondage while justifying their poverty and backwardness.[27] Clerical and secular nationalist circles tied alcoholism directly to Ukrainian group concerns in Canada, specifically image and socioeconomic status, and to national oppression. Drawing a parallel between the Easter season and the national renaissance in Ukraine to urge a new temperate beginning on its readers, Kanadyiskyi rusyn identified alcohol as the primary reason why a "talented and brave" people lay in foreign captivity: Ukraine's enemies understood well that a sober people never betrayed itself.[28]

In an important psychological sense, emigration magnified peasant ignorance and apathy and made enlightenment and progress more imperative. Canada brought Ukrainians into contact with "civilized and cultured" peoples who would be their competitors and judges. And what Anglo-Canadians saw, the immigrant press regretfully conceded, was not designed to create a good impression. Equated with undesirable imported attitudes and habits rather than immigrant trauma, boorish and uncivilized behaviour was seen both to reflect and to perpetuate the ignorance and apathy that retarded the reforms necessary to make Ukrainians the respected equals of their fellow Canadians.[29] Ignorance so clung to the peasant immigrant, wrote one critic, that he was oblivious to the shame conscious Ukrainians suffered on his behalf. Conscious Ukrainians, all too aware of their people's image as "stupid and crazy Galicians," deplored the preference for the hotel and poolroom over the _chytalnia_,[30] the alcohol-related unruliness and violence, and the demonstrations of moral depravity.[31]

Once emigration removed the Polish and Jewish yokes, secular nationalists and their clerical counterparts faced an awkward situation in identifying the peasant immigrants' legacy of darkness with national oppression. Letters, editorials and articles in the pioneer press repeatedly expressed impatience with a people that was seemingly unwilling, in a country with new freedom and opportunity, to help itself.[32] Unhappy observers of the Ukrainian immigrant scene questioned whether their compatriots were worthy of Canada and came to an unpleasant conclusion. In the new country Ukrainians had no one else to blame for the ignorance, apathy and disorderliness that made them as much objects of rule and ridicule as in Galicia. In Canada, in short, Ukrainians' fate rested on themselves.[33]

It was this admission that made perceived indifference or hostility to education a major issue. One disgruntled immigrant described the great majority of Ukrainians in Canada as little better than savages or cattle, content with full stomachs and oblivious to either greater material comforts or finer sentiments.[34] Without literacy, broad knowledge and facility in English, it was argued, the peasant immigrant generation sentenced its successors to permanent inferiority, forever manual labourers and the servants of others, scorned by the cultured and exploited by the unscrupulous.[35] Parents who measured progress solely by a paycheck or quarter sections of land and plucked their children from school to work or denied them the higher training increasingly equated with success in Canada were deemed as harmful as parents who crippled their children by drunken or quarrelsome lifestyles or passive complaisance.[36] To Greek Catholic and secular nationalist leaders, however, the enlightenment and progress that literacy, books and newspapers, and higher education represented were not merely vehicles for upward socioeconomic mobility. They were also propagandistic weapons in an accelerating ideological conflict within the embryonic Ukrainian Canadian community.

Although also insisting upon formal education and informed parenting to raise Ukrainians to the level of other Canadians,[37] Ukrainian Protestants and progressives, too, intended the enlightenment they promoted in the name of progress to serve ideological ends. To Protestants Catholicism precluded enlightenment and progress: Ukrainian immigrants could persist in their centuries-old dream of darkness, alcohol and ruin or they could embrace the sober Christian life that Western Protestantism, culture and democracy represented.[38] To progressives, although Canada had eliminated many evils of Galician society, it still served capitalist interests and compounded class exploitation with ethnic discrimination, while Ukrainian leaders uninterested in genuinely helping their compatriots "enlightened" the masses for selfish material gain and to impose a new slavery.[39] True enlightenment, progressives argued, lay in class consciousness and commitment to revolutionary struggle.

For both progressives and Protestants, enlightenment and progress entailed discarding (as inimical to Ukrainian interests in Canada) old-country habits and values that the Greek Catholic clergy and secular nationalists considered integral to Ukrainianness. The Protestant equation of Greek Catholicism and Ukrainian peasant custom with immigrant debauchery, violence and backwardness, for example, challenged religious and folk customs considered fundamental to Ukrainian national identity. And in condemning the superstitions and practices of their ancestors as unsuitable for twentieth-century Canada and a further excuse to keep the masses enslaved and ignorant,[40] progressives rejected not only peasantness but also the religion and secular nationalism that valued Ukrainian folk culture for political reasons. The progressives' own definition of Ukrainianness took into account the discrimination and exploitation they faced in Canada as Ukrainians, making the question of class consciousness also one of national consciousness. Protestants, who accused their Greek Catholic and secular nationalist opponents of a ghetto-like mentality, nevertheless dismissed their own assimilationist label. Their opposition to bilingual schools, besides registering disapproval of aid to unwanted traditions and influences, showed that they were indeed responsive to Anglo-Canadian nationbuilding and obligations accruing from mainstream ties. But Protestants still valued their mother tongue as their greatest national treasure, and although critical of the aggressive Ukrainianism of the nationalists, identified true enlightenment and progress with Ukrainian group goals - a better quality of life in Canada and nationhood at home.[41]

Progress and enlightenment as understood by pioneer Greek Catholic and secular nationalist leaders eschewed the idea of freedom from old-country Ukrainian traditions and institutions. Rather they were to be preserved and enhanced through a new consciousness binding and animating the masses. To become the equals of the "cultured and civilized" peoples of Canada Ukrainians had first to acquire self-knowledge and self-respect. This meant not merely personal awareness emerging from private introspection but a Ukrainian group awareness marked by national pride and active identification with the history, culture and aspirations of the people and nation to which Ukrainians in Canada belonged.[42] Questions concerning the precise nature of this Ukrainianness and its guarantees simultaneously united and divided the two most influential factions in the Ukrainian immigrant community.

Arguing that patriotism was impossible without God, the Greek Catholic clergy espoused a general conservative philosophy that equated the church with the authority, stability and human goodness necessary for the orderly functioning of society.[43] In strictly Ukrainian terms, the Greek Catholic religion and rite were as integral to Ukrainians' national identity and soul as their language. Thus Ukrainians in Canada who had abandoned their church - whether through ignorance, becoming the hirelings of the assimilationist English, or because of a misguided national consciousness - divorced themselves from the vital interests of their people and nation.[44] The need to nurture their language and faith as cornerstones of a politicized Ukrainian national consciousness dictated the Greek Catholic Church's definition of enlightenment and progress, its entry into public and private educational endeavours, and its instructions to immigrants in Canada, particularly parents.

Enlightenment ultimately reinforced Ukrainianness, Greek Catholicism and truth as defined by church and priests. Without it, Ukrainians in Canada faced religious-national suicide, for it made possible both the assault by alien religious and atheistic propaganda and the susceptibility of ignorant peasants to its blandishments and falsehoods. "Remember," Kanadyiskyi rusyn warned, "that he who fails to heed the kingdom of God and his own people turns God and his people away from him."[45] The indissoluble bond linking language, Greek Catholicism and Ukrainianness ensured the church's avid support of public bilingual education in the prairie provinces. When escalating Anglo-Canadian nativism closed the schools in 1916, it turned to private Ukrainian schools, bursy (urban residential institutes providing a Ukrainized milieu for students pursuing higher education), and ridni shkoly or vernacular Saturday and vacation schools.[46] The insistence of the Greek Catholic bishop that these institutions be Catholic as well as Ukrainian, however, created a permanent schism with the secular nationalists, already critical of the church's authoritarianism and the Latinization that prejudiced its distinctive "Ukrainian" rite.

Although their rival bursy and ridna shkola networks were to gravitate to the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church after 1918, the secular nationalists initially insisted that community institutions be all-Ukrainian, with neither religion nor class permitted to divide or distract Ukrainians from the primary objectives of group survival in Canada and nationhood in Ukraine.[47] The abolition of bilingual schools forced secular nationalists as well to realize that the preservation of their language and culture, and their resistance to assimilation by the English, rested on their own resources and initiatives. And here, without enlightenment that included the cultivation of a politicized Ukrainian consciousness, the peasant immigrants' ignorance, helplessness and passivity before Anglo-Canadian overtures threatened national ruin. In Europe, Kanadiiskyi farmer wrote, Ukrainians responded to attempted

Polonization with a national renaissance but in Canada, where they enjoyed full freedom, Anglicization met with indifference.[48]

The relationship between enlightenment and progress and Ukrainian group objectives in secular nationalist thought was clearly illustrated by a list of "commandments" appearing anonymously in Ukrainskyi holos in mid-1914. Men were to use their franchise to vote for candidates sympathetic to pro-Ukrainian issues like bilingual schools. Parents were to provide Ukrainian playmates for their children; ensure they spoke and could read and write their native language; and teach them the proverbs, songs, beliefs and customs of their people. Families were to revive lapsing national traditions, subscribe to patriotic newspapers and read Ukrainian books, decorate their homes with scenes from Ukrainian history, maintain ties with other Ukrainian families, attend Ukrainian concerts and patriotic celebrations, patronize Ukrainian businesses, join Ukrainian organizations, and conscientiously fulfill their obligations toward their native land and the institutions there that needed their financial and moral support.[49] Outlining the essence of Ukrainianness in the new country and the obligations attending membership in the Ukrainian nation, the "commandments" also showed that parental attitudes and the home environment were crucial to the success or failure of community agenda.

Emigration magnified the importance of parents and the home in raising patriotic Ukrainian youth as it deprived Ukrainians of the institutional structures and clerical and secular intelligentsia assuming the burden in the old country when parents defaulted.[50] For both pioneer Greek Catholic and secular nationalist leaders, the abolition of state mechanisms for language and culture maintenance, working hand in hand with the home, put added stress on the latter. Greek Catholic circles, for example, which had admonished peasant immigrants to support bilingual and Catholic schools wherever possible, increasingly emphasized domestic upbringing to defuse the denationalizing influences of both Anglo-Canadian and Latin-rite Catholic school systems and higher educational institutions like the teacher seminaries which aimed to divorce students from their faith and nation.[51] A woman writing to Ukrainskyi holos bitterly condemned Anglo-Canadians who were shedding tears for Belgian women and children in the current war while stripping Ukrainian women of their treasured language and stealing their sons and daughters; she appealed to her sex to answer the challenge to Ukrainians' national existence by shouldering its domestic and maternal responsibilities.[52]

The Great War, whose passions lay behind the anti-alien sentiments that crystallized Anglo-Canadian opposition to bilingual schools and other expressions of Ukrainianness, was a watershed in the immigrants' evolving sense of themselves as Canadians and Ukrainians. Enemy alien status and the unequivocal Anglo-Canadian statement that they remained outsiders they found insulting and unjust when they as Canadians had contributed so much to the building of the country. Ukrainian leaders insisted upon their people's loyalty; appealed to their role in nation-building to attack disenfranchisement, internment and threats of deportation; and defended against Anglo-Canadian denunciation many of the features of Ukrainian peasant and immigrant life that they themselves criticized. Education and progress became all the more important as Ukrainians emphasized the duties of Canadian citizenship and responded to the increasingly urgent Ukrainian tasks that the Great War also set in motion.[53] For as the Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires crumbled and Ukrainians joined other subject peoples of Eastern Europe fighting for national sovereignty, events also served as a catalyst to Ukrainian consciousness as a positive aspect of their identity. The cause they shared not only drew Ukrainians in emigration closer to the affairs of the homeland, and focused attention on the necessity of a politicized Ukrainianism in Canada, but also accelerated demands in nationalist circles for unity and solidarity at a time when rifts in their ranks were hardening. Two major rival camps emerged from the period: the pro-Soviet, pro-communist progressives, successors to the prewar socialists; and the nationalists, dominated by the Greek Catholic and Orthodox churches and the lay organizations forming around each.

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Attitudes toward the peasant immigrant woman crystallized in conjunction with factionalization in the larger community. The least motivated by Ukrainian group ambitions, progressives approached her from the perspective of interrelated class and female oppression, her condition on both accounts to be alleviated by a fundamental restructuring of society. Progressives harshly criticized women's treatment in Galician society, particularly the conviction of the Ukrainian peasant (and of his wife) that abuse and degradation were his right, their thinking molded and endorsed by a church that preached "Women, fear your husbands." The immigrant in Canada remained a slave to his heritage. As master of the house he was loath to take an "old woman's advice" (babska rada), regardless of how intelligent or useful; he was incredulous that the vote of a mere woman (baba) could equal that of a man, and his wife's indifference to her new rights and responsibilities was the fruit of his active discouragement as much as her own ignorance; and he kept his women in domestic bondage and darkness while bourgeois women profited from expanded opportunities to strengthen the ranks of the enemy.[54]

Victims of the present order, Ukrainian peasant immigrant women were nevertheless expected to participate in the liberation both of their sex and of the toiling masses,[55] making enlightenment through the cultivation of class consciousness their first priority. Women laboured long hard hours and for low wages, a comrade told her sisters in 1914; they constituted one-half of the human race, suffered together with male workers, bore and reared children, and therefore had to join men in the struggle for a better future. Progressives also reminded women that as mothering was their most important task, they were responsible for the class consciousness and welfare of the next generation, teaching their children by their own example and taking an intelligent interest in all aspects of society affecting their well-being.[56]

Among Protestants, the unhealthy grip of the Greek Catholic Church and its priests was blamed for the continued ignorance and neglect of Ukrainian women, the poverty of their families, their absence from meaningful community and social work as their energies were channelled into useless church decoration, and their sexual exploitation: the girl seduced and "sold" by an illiterate immigrant with a wife in the old country, for example, confirmed the depravity of Ukrainians' Galician Catholic upbringing.[57] Salvation for Protestants lay not in class consciousness and struggle but in individual liberation through evangelical Christianity. They accused the secular nationalists of religious indifference, demoralizing youth and being "un-Canadian" in their admonition to mothers to raise good Ukrainians. Accused in turn of the assimilation of Ukrainian girls to the Anglo-Canadian world, Protestant propaganda nevertheless reflected not only English ties but also concern for the Ukrainian woman as a member of her group; it expected its bursy, for example, to train female leaders of enlightenment and national consciousness for their sex.[58]

Female oppression in Ukrainian peasant society and hence its causes were not concerns of official Greek Catholic circles. Women themselves, whether as individuals or as Ukrainians reflecting upon and affecting their group's fortunes, received less attention from the church than from the secular nationalists with whom it had the greatest similarities. Female issues were not totally neglected or treated unsympathetically, however, and despite significant differences, like relative disinterest in female education, many concerns and attitudes echoed those of rival factions. Discussions of alcoholism, for example, invariably painted women and children as victims, both for the material poverty and for the physical and emotional abuse male drunkenness inflicted on the family.[59] In matters like marriage, the church stressed the necessity of a Christian (that is, Catholic) ceremony for what was a sacred institution; love between husband and wife; and the man as the benevolent but unquestioned head of the family, the woman as his obedient helpmate. Metropolitan Sheptytsky advised prospective Ukrainian bridegrooms in Canada to choose potentially good Christian wives and mothers - girls who were devout, conscientious, thrifty, industrious, self-sacrificing and prepared for responsibility however disagreeable.[60]

Despite this reiteration of traditional and subordinate roles for women and the implied dominance of religious over secular priorities, Ukrainian priests, together with lay voices in the Greek Catholic press, also addressed broader questions. A women's column was introduced in *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* in 1915, placing its hopes in "our patriotic womanhood"; while never a bold forum for opinion, it published news from the feminist movement and articles on women throughout the world along with domestic advice for the peasant immigrant in Canada.[61] Although expected to operate within "emancipated" parameters determined by specifically female functions and qualities, in effect transferring their domestic roles into the community, Ukrainian women were also to assume responsibilities outside the family, engaging in social work among the less fortunate, donating their dairy and garden produce to Ukrainian Catholic *bursy*, and taking an active part in church and national life. Both their service to the larger community and their primary function within the home required mass enlightenment to cultivate a sense of positive self-worth and national commitment.[62] The church's identification of the peasant immigrant with her group paralleled that of the secular nationalists whose sensitivity to Ukrainians' image and status in Canada and national-cultural goals it shared.

To the nationalists, women as persons together with the crises and realities of pioneering and immigrant adjustment were secondary to the impact of women's roles, attitudes, behaviour and treatment on Ukrainian fortunes. Concern was less for the abused wife or neglected child than for the bad impression made on Anglo-Canadians, less for the workload of farm women than for their abandoning of traditional Ukrainian dishes in favour of labour-saving canned goods.[63] And, as with the peasant immigrant generally, reproof and impatience with Ukrainians perceived to aggravate their group's negative stereotype and to retard its national-cultural development contradicted subsequent group myths. The peculiar place that women came to occupy in community propaganda and programs for the future, however, gave their sins and omissions special prominence.

But the nationalist press also addressed women's oppression and rights as human beings, as letters and articles (their authors frequently women) framed these as both universal and Ukrainian questions. They compared male opposition to female suffrage to strong nations' subjugation of the weak, holding them in ignorance for easier exploitation; they challenged a social order that forced women to marry for economic survival, making them the slaves of masters who used the power of the physically strong to dominate the weak in unions where "despotism reigned as in Russia"; they defended women's work and intelligence, protesting that all human beings had comparable needs, abilities and value; they insisted upon a woman's right to justice and relief from an abusive husband, and upon society's duty to condemn domestic tyranny; they maintained that only when men and women were equally enlightened and mutually supportive, with men respecting women as persons and women conscious of their personhood, would Ukrainians realize true progress; and they encouraged Ukrainian women in Canada to appreciate their human worth and assert themselves both in their own interests and those of the greater community.[64]

In 1912 women's right to equality with men was debated in the local chytalnia in Ethelbert, and, to the "loud applause of the women, girls and many men," decided in favour of the affirmative. The debaters were all members of the male immigrant intelligentsia, and at least one speaker for the negative refused to defend his position.[65] But even in the elite circles to which discussion of the woman question was confined, the idea of women as full citizens of the community met resistance. The third national convention of Ukrainians in Canada in 1919, for example, saw female delegates criticize their male colleagues who claimed to be patriots with noble ideas yet were reluctant to promote education for women and accept them as equals in public national life.[66] By the late 1910s, nationalist interest in female emancipation in principle had been largely supplanted by the more urgent identification of Ukrainian women with Ukrainian group goals and needs, tying enlightenment and progress not to individual autonomy but to women's ability to further Ukrainian group objectives. This connection had, in fact, always existed in the obstacles the peasant immigrant woman's ignorance and backwardness were perceived to present to those same objectives.

Reflecting the contradictory attitudes of the contemporary women's movement in English Canada, although outside its debates and activities, secular nationalists considered women simultaneously superior and inferior to men. On the one hand, they had been less demoralized by their Galician upbringing than Ukrainian men and were thus better equipped to respond to Canadian opportunities for reform and improvement. And nationalists who supported female suffrage argued, like mainstream advocates, that women's moral superiority and maternal sensibilities would eradicate political corruption and cure a variety of social ills.[67] On the other hand, those opposed to authoritarianism and Latinization in the Greek Catholic Church complained that, less enlightened and conscious than their menfolk, peasant immigrant women were more likely to succumb to the propaganda both of French Catholic interlopers and of their own priests calumniating against Ukrainskyi holos and its "godlessness." That newspaper accused the church of exploiting women's ignorance to maintain its traditional grip on the peasantry and, warning enlightened men that it would try to control them through their wives, insisted upon women's enlightenment also.[68] From the community perspective, the peasant immigrant woman's demerits could easily outweigh her merits.

Although fewer in number than their male counterparts, a more transitory sight on Canadian streets, and less addicted to the alcohol that gave Ukrainian men such a bad reputation, Ukrainian female immigrants were also perceived to contribute to their group's poor image. The Ukrainian peasant woman's slovenliness in the immigration sheds and her children's foul habits rendered Ukrainians "worse than Indians" in Anglo-Canadian eyes; sometimes women drank with their husbands, even urging their children to join; they stole without shame, whether from the Canadian merchant or their fellow immigrant; they went to town barefoot; and they underlined their emptyheadedness and lack of culture with their unrestrained, foolish chatter.[69] Peasantness, in essence, was to be discarded.

But attitudes were ultimately more complex and ambiguous as Ukrainians' own prejudices and priorities moderated their sensitivity to Anglo-Canadian opinion and to their heritage. The poverty of the Ukrainian homesteader and his leaders' desire for socioeconomic progress, for example, prompted the defence of women's labour on the land, despite its scandalizing the English.[70] And despite their admiration of the cultured English woman, Ukrainians' pride in their hardworking peasants was accompanied by disdain for the pampered wife of the Anglo-Canadian, in what amounted to a rejection of the Victorian ideal of femininity. When during the war, for example, the Anglo-Canadian press praised women's physical labour and sacrifice, Ukrainians responded that the toil the leisured English woman was just discovering had long been familiar to Ukrainian women - stronger and healthier for their exertions, the more beautiful for being without powder and perfume, and no less cultured for all that they could not play the piano and, like the great Tolstoi, went barefoot in summer.[71] Ukrainians' greatest defence of their womenfolk, however, came in the debate over female suffrage, when Anglo-Canadians closed ranks to exclude "foreign" and "enemy alien" women from the vote, arguing that to enfranchise beasts of burden ignorant of Canadian institutions would be an insult to intelligent, patriotic Anglo-Canadian women. Reflecting the Canadian consciousness the war helped crystallize, Ukrainians retaliated that these "foreign" women who were raising a new generation of Canadians not only loved the country but had also contributed more to it by their labour than many English women.[72]

The impact of the peasant immigrant woman's attitudes and behaviour on her group's image and status paled beside their impact on Ukrainians' survival as a national-cultural collectivity with obligations to the homeland. Her vices the product of her ignorance, she was seen to be either indifferent to her depraved condition and oblivious of her responsibilities or, remaining ignorant by choice, wilfully hostile to self-improvement and Ukrainian goals. In the clutches of their dark heritage, such women consciously or unconsciously in their roles as mothers and homemakers obstructed the spiritual and material development of their families and the group, unable to lead by example or to inculcate patriotic sentiments and greater ambition in their husbands and children.[73] The exemplary Ukrainian mother, Ukrainskyi holos explained, did not forget in the midst of poverty that her children needed books and learning to ensure a bright future; moreover, the home was the first and most important school, teaching respect for work, truth, knowledge and things Ukrainian.[74]

Pressures on the home in preserving things Ukrainian and cultivating the attendant Ukrainian consciousness that emigration imposed multiplied with the abolition of bilingual schools. The family as the primary bastion of Ukrainianness had profound implications for women. It magnified the significance of their traditional female functions and responsibilities as mothers and homemakers, giving them a higher profile in community concerns than they had experienced in the past, as the peasant immigrant woman's assumptions and expectations became crucial to the direction and content of Ukrainian Canadian life in the future. Physical survival may once have been considered enough and indeed absorbed all one's energies, but to community activists committed to upward mobility in Canada and to national-cultural goals linked to nationbuilding in Ukraine, it was enough no longer. Women were responsible for maintaining Ukrainian homes, raising their children in Canada in the Ukrainian language and culture and in a Ukrainian spirit, and imparting the values that dedicated the next generation to enlightenment and progress.

But the "Ukrainianness" that the Ukrainian peasant immigrant woman embodied in her "peasantness," or conversely the "peasantness" that characterized her "Ukrainianness," was felt to secure neither objective. A lifestyle and outlook that handicapped Ukrainians in a country that classified its citizens by their ethnic origins was as unsatisfactory as an unpoliticized Ukrainian identity erected on folk customs that lacked purposeful commitment to Ukrainian group survival in Canada and aid to Ukraine abroad. Both acceptance and respectability as Canadians and group-imposed obligations as Ukrainians demanded that women, like men, be enlightened and conscious members of their community. What the bloc settlements preserved and perpetuated by size and inertia and by the physical and social constraints they placed on women were not what the future required. Yet the isolated peasant immigrant pioneer woman, while perhaps unpoliticized and unmotivated, possessed one unassailable quality: she was also unassimilated.

Unfavourable comparisons of town and country demonstrated how important this became in community thinking. Rural Ukrainians were held to value their language and culture more highly, while assimilation proceeded quickly among urban Ukrainians, helped by mothers uninterested in or unable to inculcate a meaningful Ukrainianness rooted in language maintenance.[75] "The street" not only demoralized Ukrainian youth in the absolute sense, exposing them to the corrupting influence of unsavoury individuals and the moving pictures, for example, but also alienated them from their Ukrainian heritage and community. The assimilation "the street" symbolized exaggerated the role of the home, and especially of women as mothers, in rearing young Ukrainian Canadians in their own tradition.[76] The ignorant and apathetic peasant immigrant outside the bloc settlements, helpless against the assimilatory forces and demoralization of the larger society, was more of a millstone around the collective group neck than she was when safely ensconced among her own kind, despite the often oppressive weight of old-country attitudes and practices.

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How women, for better or worse, were perceived by factions in the Ukrainian Canadian community would be refined over the next several decades. But the basic mold had already been cast in attitudes to the peasant immigrant. Regardless of ultimately different objectives, reflected in their understanding of enlightenment and progress, both progressives and nationalists had rejected her peasantness, although the latter had subsequently to separate and salvage the desirable "Ukrainian" from the undesirable "peasant" in her heritage. Because of her traditional role as mother and homemaker, the two camps had also established her centrality to their respective blueprints, whose success hinged on the outlook of the next, Canadian-born and -raised generation; and each expected her to participate directly and actively, as a member of the larger collective, in community life. Her sex's special relationship to the propaganda and programs of Ukrainian activists and spokespersons subjected the peasant immigrant to unaccustomed scrutiny, and it promised the intensification of that scrutiny among her daughters.

"The people of foreign countries who come to Canada after having reached maturity - the middle-aged and the aged - will never become true Canadian citizens, imbued with the highest Anglo-Saxon ideals," wrote a proponent of assimilation in 1918, referring to the Ukrainian woman's mud bake-oven, Easter egg painting and foreign speech and dress. Rather her children were "the material upon which Canadians as nation-builders must work."[77] Adult immigrants represented an essentially lost generation to the emerging Ukrainian community leadership as well.

Among those formulating and articulating the group's goals and needs, both as citizens of the new country and as members of the Ukrainian nation, the immigrants' daughters would command greater attention. Handicapped at the outset by the shortcomings of their own mothers, themselves prospective mothers responsible for upcoming Ukrainian Canadian youth, they were also the first generation of women to have sustained intercourse with the Anglo-Canadian world, exposed to its baser attractions and assimilatory pressures as well as to its opportunities. How they responded and the degree to which the community would be able to direct their responses were crucial to the future.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Gabrielle Roy, Garden in the Wind, trans. Alan Brown (Toronto 1977), 140-1.

[2] This point is crucial in evaluating Eliane Leslau Silverman, The Last Best West: Women on the Alberta Frontier, 1880-1930 (Montreal and London 1984). Proceeding from an initial bias toward the levelling influence of the frontier, which eroded not only objective differences but also social distance, and finding justification in the indifference of her informants, Silverman dismisses ethnicity as irrelevant outside a few formalized and symbolic rituals; it was neither an impediment to integration into the new society nor the source of personal and political identity (161). Besides obviously disregarding Hutterite and similar women, such a conclusion reflects a failure to appreciate the environment in which less cohesive and isolationist groups acted and interacted. In the large bloc settlement east of Edmonton, where most Ukrainian women in Alberta lived, their own kind formed the core and gave meaning to their networks: family fellowship, informal socialization and structured community activities involved other Ukrainians and Ukrainian national-cultural and religious institutions. If these women did not perceive their behaviour or routines and environment as being "ethnic," it is not surprising, but it does not alter the fact that much of their lives was spent outside the dominant prairie culture, touched at all points by Ukrainian influences beyond language, food and ritualized custom.

[3] In "The Stone Cross," the short story by the late nineteenth-century Galician writer, Vasyl Stefanyk, it is the old woman and not her husband who wants to emigrate to Canada; Vasyl Stefanyk, The Stone Cross, trans. Joseph Wiznuk and C.H. Andrusyshen (Toronto 1971), 21-32. As emigrants and immigrants and as wives left in Galicia, Ukrainian women found an outlet for their emotions in poetry; see, for example, Natalia Kryhirchuk's "Na chuzhyni" and Magda Shcherba's "Tuha zheny emigranty" in Kanadiiskyi farmer (20 S 1906): 4 and (6 S 1907): 4, respectively.

[4] See, for example, Maria Adamowska, "Beginnings in Canada," in Land of Pain, Land of Promise: First Person Accounts by Ukrainian Pioneers, 1891-1914, comp. and trans. Harry Piniuta (Saskatoon 1978), 55-6. Pioneer leaders early advised immigrants to change into "clothes of the world" to avoid ridicule on arrival in North America; Nestor Dmytriv, "Kanadiiska Rus'," Svoboda (10 Je 1897): 1.

[5] Stella Hryniuk, "The Peasant and Alcohol in Eastern Galicia in the Late Nineteenth Century: A Note," Journal of Ukrainian Studies 11, no. 1 (Su 1986): 75-86, attempts to demonstrate, albeit inconclusively, that alcoholism was not as serious a problem as contemporaries and historians since have painted.

[6] John-Paul Himka, "The Background to Emigration: Ukrainians of Galicia and Bukovyna, 1848-1914," in A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada, ed. Manoly R. Lupul (Toronto 1982), 17-8. Ukrainian peasant girls also worked as domestics in Polish and Jewish homes in larger urban centres and for wealthier village Jews. To immigrants in Canada, this employment had connotations of moral corruption and sexual exploitation; see, for example, letter, Kyrylo Genik, "Visty z Kanady," Svoboda (15 D 1898): 2.

[7] See Samuel Koenig, "Ukrainians of Eastern Galicia: A Study of Their Culture and Institutions" (Ph.D., Yale University, 1935), 133, 379, 392-462, 369. Koenig points out that the Ukrainian peasant's adherence to many customs and beliefs had declined since the turn of the century.

[8] Cited in ibid., 493-4. In 1904, 28.1 per cent of Ukrainian brides in Galicia were under twenty years of age and 59.4 per cent under twenty-four; John-Paul Himka, Galician Villagers and the Ukrainian National Movement in the Nineteenth Century (Edmonton 1988), 103.

[9] Koenig, "Ukrainians of Eastern Galicia," 495, 492, 422-4. The comment on walking "Galician style" was made in M.Sh., "Cholovik i zhinka," Robitnytsia 1, no. 8 (1 Jl 1924): 4-6.

[10] Between 1904 and 1909, for example, the mortality rate for infants under one year of age in Galicia was 210 per 1000; Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopedia, vol. 2 (Toronto 1971), 1016. In 1910, in three heavily Ukrainian districts of Alberta (Vegreville, Victoria and Whitford), it was reported at 111 per 1000, 117 per 1000 and 185 per 1000, respectively; these figures compared unfavourably with nearby Scandinavian (Camrose, 52 per 1000) and British-American (Wainwright, 33 per 1000) districts. Based on annual report of the Vital Statistics Branch of the Department of Agriculture in Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture of the Province of Alberta for the Year 1910.

[11] The point that the cultivated popularity of Ukrainian handicrafts was enhancing the peasant woman's self-esteem and making men more amenable to female education to further the cottage industry is made by Martha Bohachevsky-Chomiak in the manuscript, p. 124 (Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Archives, University of Alberta) of her Feminists Despite Themselves: Women in Ukrainian Community Life, 1884-1939 (Edmonton 1988).

[12] On the Ukrainian women's movement in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Galicia, see Bohachevsky-Chomiak, Feminists Despite Themselves, 47-102. See also Martha Bohachevsky-Chomiak, "Natalia Kobryns'ka: A Formulator of Feminism," in Nationbuilding and the Politics

of Nationalism: Essays on Austrian Galicia, ed. Andrei S. Markovits and Frank E. Sysyn (Cambridge, Mass. 1982), 196-219.

[13] Himka, Galician Villagers, 97-104. Between 1897 and 1910, approximately five per cent of reading club membership was female. Himka characterizes it as being young (comprised overwhelmingly of unmarried girls), proportionately declining and ephemeral, suggesting as reasons the patriarchal nature of Ukrainian peasant society, women's greater isolation and thus less openness to innovation, and the indifference of the leadership of the national movement in Lviv to their participation, partly because of sexism and partly because women lacked the vote.

[14] The earlier Ukrainian immigration to the United States had caused the American Roman Catholic hierarchy to object strenuously to the introduction of married Greek Catholic priests, and in 1894 pressures were successfully exerted on Rome to exclude them from North America; Paul Yuzyk, The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, 1918-1951 (Ottawa 1981), 41. The female religious, the Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate who accompanied the first permanent monastic clergy to Canada in 1902, could not duplicate the social function of priests' wives.

[15] In 1911, 97.5 per cent of Ukrainian women resided in the prairie provinces, where they were outnumbered by Ukrainian men by a ratio of 5 to 4. In Ontario and British Columbia, which attracted only a fraction of Ukrainian female immigrants, women were outnumbered by ratios of 4 to 1 and 9 to 1, respectively. Based on William Darcovich and Paul Yuzyk, eds., A Statistical Compendium on the Ukrainians in Canada, 1891-1976 (Ottawa 1980), Series 20.63-80, pp. 41-4.

[16] See Orest T. Martynowych, "Village and Radicals and Peasant Immigrants: The Social Roots of Factionalism among Ukrainian Immigrants in Canada, 1898-1918" (M.A., University of Manitoba, 1978).

[17] Paul Yuzyk, "The History of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church in Canada" (M.A., University of Saskatchewan, 1948), was the first attempt to examine the church's formative years in Canada. For the church's own assessment of its role and achievements, see Propamiatna knyha z nahody zolotoho iuvileiu poselennia ukrainskoho narodu v Kanadi, 1891-1941 (Yorkton 1941).

[18] On Protestant missionary activity among the Ukrainians, see Vivian Olender, "The Reaction of the Canadian Methodist Church Towards Ukrainian Immigrants: Rural Missions as Agencies of Assimilation" (M.A., University of Toronto, 1976), and "Presbyterian Missions and Ukrainians in Canada, 1900-1925" (Ph.D., University of Toronto, 1984). On the Ukrainian roots and evolution of the Independent Greek Church, see John Bodrug, Independent Orthodox Church: Memoirs Pertaining to the History of a Ukrainian Canadian Church in the Years 1903 to 1913, ed. J.B. Gregorovich (Toronto 1982); and Oleksander Dombrovskyi, Narys istorii ukrainskoho ievanhelsko-reformovanoho rukhu (New York and Toronto 1979), chapter 8.

[19] Orest T. Martynowych, "The Ukrainian Socialist Movement in Canada, 1900-1918," *Journal of Ukrainian Graduate Studies* 1, no. 1 (Au 1976): 27-44, and 2, no. 1 (Sp 1977): 22-31, provides the best analysis of progressive programs and fortunes in this period. For the progressives' own assessment of their early history, see Peter Krawchuk, *The Ukrainian Socialist Movement in Canada (1907-1918)* (Toronto 1979).

[20] Yuzyk, *Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada*, 55-96.

[21] There was also a small Russophile press, including *Russkii holos"* (1913-16) and *Russkii narod"* (1914-19). Never a large or dynamic voice in the community and an essentially spent force by the end of the revolutionary years, the Russophiles are not included in this discussion.

[22] Teacher, "Suspilna pratsia ukr. uchytelia i sviashchenyka v Kanadi," *Kanadyiets* (27 S 1916): 2; "Try vorohy naroda," *Ranok* (29 Ja 1913): 2; and letter, I. Verkhomin, "Vegreviltsiam slava!" *Ranok* (25 Oc 1916): 6.

[23] "Zherelo natsionalnoi nenavysty," *Robitnytsia* 1, no. 7 (15 Je 1924): 1-3; Railwayman, "Patriotyzm v teorii i praktytsi," *Robitnytsia* 2, no. 11 (1 Je 1925): 15-7; and Oksana Kadlubytska, editorial, *Robitnytsia* 4, no. 6 (15 Mr 1927): 167-8.

[24] I. Kun, "Khto tut vynen?" *Kanadiiskyi farmer* (29 Oc 1909): 2, 6. See also, for example, Iosyf Bachynskyi, "Chytaite, dumaite i svoi hadky kazhit," *Kanadiiskyi farmer* (1 Oc 1909): 4; and Ivan Petrushevych, "Do svitla," *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* (I S 1915): 4.

[25] On the attitudes of the Ukrainian peasant to the Jews, rooted in historical and changing economic and political relations, see John-Paul Himka, "Ukrainian-Jewish Antagonism in the Galician Countryside During the Late Nineteenth Century," in *Ukrainian-Jewish Relations in Historical Perspective*, ed. Peter J. Potichnyj and Howard Aster (Edmonton 1988), 111-58. For examples of early immigrant attitudes toward the legacy of Polish and Jewish oppression, see Frances Swyripa and Andrij Makuch, comps., *Ukrainian Canadian Content in the Newspaper 'Svoboda', 1893-1904*, Research Report No. 7 (Edmonton 1985).

[26] "Tsilu bandu halishonsko-katolytskykh vesilnykiv sud nakazuie," *Ranok* (12 Je 1912): 2. See also letter, I. Kravets, "Kanadyiskomu rusynovy alkoholnykovy," *Ranok* (19 Je 1912): 2-3; letter, A. Naidovych, Montreal, *Ranok* (22 Ja 1913): 2; "Ruski nichni orgii," *Ranok* (19 F 1913): 1; "Horivka znova prychynoiu mordu," *Ranok* (23 Jl 1913) 2; and "Chy po alkohol my ikhaly v Kanady?" *Kanadyiets* (15 Jl 1915): 1.

[27] See, for example, D. Lobai, "Viina z alkoholem," *Robochyi narod* (9 Je 1915): 4; and "Rukh proty shynkiv v Alberti," *Robochyi narod* (30 Je 1915): 2. Interwar women in progressive circles continued the campaign against female illiteracy and against alcohol, admonishing class-conscious women to set an example for their husbands and children. See Ia. Malska, "Naistrashnishchyi voroh robitytstva," *Robitnytsia* 1, no. 1 (15 Mr 1924): 17-8; Dr. Kaplan, "Naistrashnishyi ruinyk rodyny,"

Robitnytsia 3, no. 5 (1 Mr 1926): 17-8; and "Vynyshchuimo velykoho voroha pratsiuiuchykh," *Robitnytsia* 5, no. 2 (15 Ja 1928): 33-4.

[28] Y. Shakotko, "Shche odna zhertva pyiatyky!" *Kanadiiskyi farmer* (12 Ja 1910): 4. On the destructiveness of alcohol, see "Alkohol prychyniu ubozhestva mnohykh ukrainskykh rodyn," *Kanadiiskyi farmer* (25 F 1916): 8; "Alkohol i pratsia," *Kanadiiskyi farmer* (12 Je 1914): 4; "Vplyv alkoholiu na potomstvo," *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* (1 Jl 1912): 2; and the series, "Strashnyi voroh," *Kanadiiskyi farmer* (18 S-13 N 1914), "Pyty chy ne pyty?" *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* (10 Ja-7 F 1914), "Smert vorohovy," *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* (6 Je-25 Jl 1914) and "Naibilshyi voroh pereselentsiv," *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* (18 Jl-29 Ag 1914).

[29] "The English" were the yardstick by which Ukrainians ultimately measured themselves. Within their own world, however, it was the Jewish immigrant with his business acumen, professional aspirations and educational drive who offered the most unfavourable comparison to Ukrainians.

[30] While the press aimed to elevate and propagandize from above, *chytalni* and *narodni domy* (national halls) attempted to do the same much more directly. They existed in urban centres where Ukrainian communities formed and in the bloc settlements, joining the school, general store and church at rural crossroads as the focal points of communal life.

[31] Letter, V.B. Melnychuk, Slocan Junction, *Kanadiiskyi farmer* (17 My 1912): 3; "Nashi halytski horozhany," *Kanadiiskyi farmer* (21 Je 1907); 4; letter, Andr. Zaiats, Shillingthorpe, *Kanadiiskyi farmer* (21 F 1908): 4; and letter, Teo. Minisan, Theodore, *Kanadiiskyi farmer* (9 Mr 1910): 3.

[32] Ukrainian immigrants, for example, were so locked into ruinous old-country relationships that in Canada they volunteered for victimization by the Jewish merchant; the same individuals spent a fortune on beer and whiskey but begrudged a dime for the books and newspapers that represented their emancipation. See letter, Brother, Ethelbert, "Proch z baramy! Proch z chuzhynetskymy storamy," *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* (23 Je 1915): 6; letter, Hygienist, Winnipeg, "Chyste moloko," *Kanadiiskyi farmer* (26 F 1915): 5; "Holovna potreba," *Ukrainskyi holos* (26 Oc 1910): 5; Petro Ruta, "Z zhytia chytalni Prosvity pry hr. kat. ruskii tserkvy u Vinnipegu," *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* (3 Je 1911): 8; Bachelor, "Kilka sliv pro pianstvo i vesilie," *Ukrainskyi holos* (12 Oc 1910): 5; and letter, I. Zanym, Alvena, *Kanadiiskyi farmer* (29 D 1909): 3.

[33] "Chy my rusyny robitnyky i farmery hodni sami sebe provadyty na vilnii zemli?" *Kanadiiskyi farmer* (17 Ag 1905): 1; editor's reply to letter, A. Fylypovych, Winnipeg, *Kanadiiskyi farmer* (7 D 1905): 3; letter, Maksym Hum, Fernie, *Kanadiiskyi farmer* (21 D 1905): 2; letter, Nykola Palahniuk, Telford, *Kanadiiskyi farmer* (22 Mr 1906): 2; "Budysia narode!" *Kanadiiskyi farmer* (12 Ap 1907): 2; and letter, Ivan Harivko, Ianoff, *Kanadiiskyi farmer* (31 Jl 1908): 4.

[34] Letter, Father, "Rodychi a dity," *Kanadiiskyi farmer* (16 Jl 1913): 3.

[35] See, for example, V. Kushnir, Montreal, "Nasha slabnist," *Kanadiiskyi farmer* (7 F 1908): 2; "Shcho my povynni robyty u zymovi vecheri," *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* (9 D 1911): 2; letter, V.B. Melnychuk, Slocan Junction, *Kanadiiskyi farmer* (17 My 1912): 3; "Iak nalezhyt perevodyty zymove bezrobitie," *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* (16 N 1912): 4; "Do shkoly!" *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* (16 Ag 1916): 4; and The Same, "Ukrainskym rodycham i intelihentam," *Ukrainskyi holos* (4 S 1918): 3.

[36] "Hornimsia do prosvity!" *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* (17 Ag 1912): 4; "Posylaimo nashykh dityi do vysshykh shkil," *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* (12 Jl 1913): 4; N.E., "Do pytania pro shkolu," *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* (5 S 1914): 4; K. Zapitach, "Molodizh - se buduchnist narodu!" *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* (7 Oc 1914): 3 and (14 Oc 1914): 6; "Chomu dytyna ne vchytsia dobra," *Ukrainskyi holos* (3 N 1915): 4; "Farmeri davaite svoi dity v shkolu!" *Ukrainskyi holos* (16 Ag 1916): 6; "Ne zanebuimo obrazovania dityi," *Ukrainskyi holos* (7 Ag 1918): 4; and The Same, "Ukrainskym rodycham i intelihentam," *Ukrainskyi holos* (4 S 1918): 3.

[37] *Ranok*, for example, early advised Ukrainian immigrants that the political and other rights they shared with all Canadians meant little without the formal education and home upbringing that truly equalized people; "Rivnist," *Ranok* (15 My 1907): 75-6.

[38] "Ruski nichni orgii," *Ranok* (19 F 1913): 1; see also "Andrei Sheptytskyi do molodizhy serednykh i vysshykh shkil," *Ranok* (7 F 1912): 2; and "Shcho ie naibilshym bohatstvom cholovika na zemli," *Kanadyiets* (1 Oc 1919): 2.

[39] From the interwar period, see two reviews addressed to women in progressive circles of conditions prior to the founding of the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association: Refugee, "Shkola i uchytelka," *Robitnytsia* 3, no. 22 (15 N 1926): 2-4; and "15-rokovyny TURFDim," *Robitnytsia* 10, no. 6 (15 Mr 1933): 13-4.

[40] "Pid vplyvom temriavy davnoho mynuloho," *Holos robitnytsi* 2, no. 1 (Ja 1924): 1-2; and "Shcho take Belykden i komu vin sluzhyt," *Robitnytsia* 8, no. 7 (1 Ap 1931): 8-10. The second article, which criticizes the church's use of Easter to keep the working class in its place by exhorting it to emulate the suffering of Christ and await its reward in heaven, is not Ukrainian specific.

[41] "Zvit ukrainsko-presvyterskoi konventsyi v Alberti," *Ranok* (11 Ag 1915): 5 and (25 Ag 1915): 3; Ivan Bodrug, "Pro mnohomovni shkoly," *Ranok* (12 Ja 1916): 2; "Ridna mova v Kanadi," *Ranok* (26 Ja 1916): 2; and letter, Stefan Tomashevskyi, "Ukraintsi i horivka," *Kanadiiskyi ranok* (13 Je 1922): 6.

[42] "Slovo do kanadyiskykh rusyniv," *Kanadiiskyi farmer* (22 F 1907): 3; "Pro liubov ridnoi movy," *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* (3 Je 1911): 4; "Shanuimo sebe, shchoby druhi nas shanuvaly," *Ukrainskyi holos* (5 Je 1912): 2; and

"Za narod," Kanadyiskyi rusyn (28 N 1917): 4. The series, "Domashnyi promysl," Kanadyiskyi rusyn (29 Mr-12 Ap 1916) urged Ukrainians to show that in their daily struggle for bread they also possessed artistic talents and aesthetic values.

[43] "Na shcho my zakladaimo parakhiialni shkoly i hreko-kat. bursy?" Kanadyiskyi rusyn (25 Oc 1916): 6.

[44] "Pro liubov ridnoi movy," Kanadyiskyi rusyn (3 Je 1911): 4; "Holovna prychyna zipsutia molodizhy," Kanadyiskyi rusyn (5 Oc 1912): 4; the tongue-in-cheek, "Desiat zapovidyi dlia kozhdoho, shcho pokydaie viru, batkiv ta prystaie na [p]resbyteriiansku," Kanadyiskyi rusyn (4 Ag 1915): 4; "27 maia 1911," Kanadyiskyi rusyn (30 My 1914): 4; "Mytropolyt Andrei hr. na sheptychakh Sheptytskyi," Kanadyiskyi rusyn (4 N 1914): 3; and "Tserkovnyi-narodnyi zizd," Kanadyiskyi rusyn (29 Ja 1919): 4.

[45] M.O., "Pytania na chasi: Suspilna pratsia ukrainskoho uchytelia i sviashchenyka v Kanadi," Kanadyiskyi rusyn (13 S 1916): 5. See also "Shcho my povynni robyty u zymovi vecheri," Kanadyiskyi rusyn (9 D 1911): 2; letter, Anna T., Edmonton, Kanadyiskyi rusyn (16 D 1911): 6; letter, Ivan Stefaniuk, Sifton, Kanadyiskyi rusyn (10 Ag 1912): 6; and "Iak nalezhyt tolkuvaty sobi slovo 'prosvita'," Kanadyiskyi rusyn (21 S 1912): 4.

[46] Pioneer Greek Catholic bursy failed to survive the postwar depression; ridni shkoly, St. Nicholas School in Winnipeg (1905) and private schools for girls were identified with the Ukrainian Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate, while private schools for boys were initially both financed and staffed by non-Ukrainian Roman Catholic male orders. See Frances Swyripa, "The Ukrainians and Private Education," in Lupul, A Heritage in Transition, 248-50, 257; and Propamiatna knyha z nahody zolotoho iuvileiu poselennia ukrainskoho narodu v Kanadi, 1891-1914, 31-7. The Sisters' schools were seen to perform a religious-patriotic service; "Horminsia do prosvity!" Kanadyiskyi rusyn (17 Ag 1912): 4.

[47] What became the principal Orthodox bursa, the Petro Mohyla Institute in Saskatoon (1916) was the focal point in the controversy between the secular nationalists and the Greek Catholic Church over control of community institutions; its leaders also provided much of the initiative for the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church. See Yuzyk, Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, 66-90; and Iuvileina knyha Ukrainskoho instytutu im. Petra Mohyly v Saskatuni, 1916-1941 (Saskatoon 1941), 43-100.

[48] "Shcho nam hrozyt?" Kanadiiskyi farmer (18 Oc 1912): 2; see also "Richni zahalni zbory Instytutu im. Mykhaila Hrushevskoho," Kanadiiskyi farmer (14 Mr 1919): 3-4.

[49] "Ukrainski narodni zapovidy," Ukrainskyi holos (17 Je 1914): 10. In the 1910s Kanadiiskyi farmer sometimes chided Ukrainskyi holos for the intensity of its Ukrainianness, insisting upon Canadianism as well.

[50] The Greek Catholic prelate, Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky of Lviv, acknowledged this in advising Ukrainian parents in Canada of their holy duty in rearing their children, as the priest or teacher who could substitute for them in Galicia did not always exist; "Mytropolyt Andrei hr. na sheptychakh Sheptytskyi," Kanadyiskyi rusyn (11 N 1914): 3.

[51] A. Teodoriv, "Patriotychno-religiine vykhovanie," Kanadyiskyi rusyn (26 Ag 1911): 2; N.E., "Do pytania pro shkolu," Kanadyiskyi rusyn (5 S 1914): 4; K. Zapitach, "Molodizh - se buduchnist narodu!" Kanadyiskyi rusyn (7 Oc 1914): 3 and (14 Oc 1914): 6; "Ukrainska kolegiia - holos dyskusii," Kanadyiskyi rusyn (7 Ap 1915): 7; and "Do shkoly!" Kanadyiskyi rusyn (4 S 1918): 5.

[52] L.M. Ukrainka, "Holos ukrainskoi zhinky," Ukrainskyi holos (22 D 1915): 4. See also letter, Mariia Fichych, "Nadislanie do ukrainskoho zhinotstva," Ukrainskyi holos (16 F 1916): 10; and the response by Aleksandra Sereda, "Do ukrainskoho zhinotstva," Ukrainskyi holos (8 Mr 1916): 10.

[53] Andrei Sheptytskyi, "Do rusyniv-ukraintsiv Kanady," Kanadyiskyi rusyn (18 N 1914): 3; "Nasha presa a prosvita," Kanadiiskyi farmer (6 Oc 1916): 4; Osyp Megas, "Kanadyiske ukrainstvo," Kanadiiskyi farmer (30 Mr 1917): 4; and "Posylaimo molodizh do vysshykh shkil," Kanadiiskyi farmer (29 Ag 1919): 6. The second (1918) and third (1919) Ukrainian national conventions clearly illustrated the heightening and crystallizing sense of urgency concerning both the immigrants' Ukrainianism and their Canadianism.

[54] See, for example, Plebian, "Rivnopravnist zhenshchyn," Robochyi narod (28 F 1916): 2; "Registratsiia a ukrainski zhenshchyny," Robochyi narod (30 My 1917): 2; and M.Sh., "Cholovik i zhinka," Robitnytsia 1, no. 8 (1 Jl 1924): 4-6. "Rabyni rabiv," Holos robitnytsi 1, no. 9 (S 1923): 1-2, was the editor's response to women writing to complain that their husbands did not want them to participate in the progressive women's organization or read its magazine.

[55] That Anglo-Canadian chauvinism did not join class and gender discrimination in the prewar progressive press no doubt reflected the peasant woman's limited contact with mainstream society. The letter by Ivan Turkevych of Winnipeg does, however, imply that the predicament of Ukrainian working girls was particularly bad, both because of conditions in the workplace and because of their disinclination to join workers' organizations; see "V spravi ukrainskykh robitnyts," Robochyi narod (18 Jl 1917): 2.

[56] Letter, Anna Novakovska, "Klych do tovaryshok!" Robochyi narod (22 Ja 1914): 3-4; "Zhinky! Divchata! Podruhy moi!" Robochyi narod (1 Ja 1914): 5, which suggests that women's function within the family and their female nature gave them an inspirational role to play; "Anu, taky ta na rozum skazhit, chy zhinchi konche treba polityky?" Robochyi narod (22 Ja 1914): 2; and "Iak povynni sotsiialisty vykhovuvaty svoi dity?" Robochyi narod (29 My 1918): 2.

[57] "Otvorenie shpytaliu v Etelbert," *Ranok* (5 Ja 1916): 2; "'Kanadyiskyi rusyn' gazeta hreko-katol. epyskopa Mykyty Budky rozsadnykom nemoralnosty," *Ranok* (3 Oc 1917): 6; letter, S. Podliasetskyi, Fernie, *Ranok* (28 F 1912): 4; and E. Talnykov, "Iak nam hotovytys do konventsii," *Ranok* (24 My 1916): 2.

[58] Letter, A.V., Edmonton, "Deshcho pro 'bursu' u Vehrevyl, Alta.," *Ranok* (28 Ja 1914): 4; A. Vilchynskyi, "Shcho povynna znaty kozhda ukrainska divchyna," *Ranok* (25 Jl 1917): 2; and the article by the same title in *Ukrainskyi holos* (11 Jl 1917): 8, that sparked Wilchynsky's response.

[59] From the various camps, see, for example, "Naibilshyi voroh pereselentsiv," *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* (15 Ag 1914): 4; "Rukh proty shynkiv v Alberti," *Robochyi narod* (30 Je 1915): 2; letter, Iakym Kravets, Canmore, "Voroh nash, to piianstvo," *Kanadiiskyi farmer* (30 N 1915): 2; and "Alkohol prychyniu ubozhestva mnohykh ukrainskykh rodyn," *Ukrainskyi holos* (19 Ja 1916): 5.

[60] Andrei Sheptytskyi, "Kanadyiskym rusynam," *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* (13 Ja 1912): 3. See also the five-part "Iak zhenytysia," *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* (24 Ja-21 F 1917): "Taina supruzhestva," *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* (19 D 1917): 7 and (26 D 1917): 7; and "Cholovikovy potreba shchastia," *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* (16 Ja 1918): 7.

[61] "Zhinochyi svit," *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* (20 Ja 1915): 6.

[62] A.Sh., "Suspilna pratsia ukrainskoi zhenshchyny," *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* (10 Oc 1917): 7; and M. Olenchuk, "Iz zhyttia ukraintsiv v skhidnii Kanadi," *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* (2 My 1917): 6.

[63] "Ne liutske obkhodzheniesia z ditmy," *Kanadiiskyi farmer* (8 F 1906): 3; "Visty z Vegryvil, Alta," *Ukrainskyi holos* (14 Je 1911): 5; and Ukrainian Woman, "Hospodarski i domashni spravy," *Ukrainskyi holos* (24 Mr 1915): 6.

[64] "Z nyzhnoho svita," *Kanadiiskyi farmer* (8 Oc 1909): 2, 6; M. Ukrainka, "Holos zhenshchyny," *Kanadiiskyi farmer* (12 Ja 1910): 2, and editor's reply; Prairie dweller, "Na 'holos zhinky'," *Kanadiiskyi farmer* (9 Mr 1910): 5; "Zhenska dolia," *Ukrainskyi holos* (20 Ap 1910): 4; "Zamitky - na nedavnu temu," *Ukrainskyi holos* (18 Ja 1911): 4; "Z zhinochoho svita," *Ukrainskyi holos* (22 My 1912): 2; and "Zhinky v Manitobi holosuiut," *Ukrainskyi holos* (9 F 1916): 4.

[65] Letter, Friend of Everything Good, Ethelbert, *Ukrainskyi holos* (21 Ag 1912): 7.

[66] "Tretyi ukrainskyi narodnyi zizd," *Ukrainskyi holos* (5 F 1919): 10.

[67] Nestor Dmytriv, "Kanadiiska Rus'," *Svoboda* (29 Ap 1897): 1-2; "Zhenska dolia," *Ukrainskyi holos* (20 Ap 1910): 4; letter, Friend of Everything Good, Ethelbert, *Ukrainskyi holos* (21 Ag 1912): 7; and "Choho

treba spodivatysia vid liberalnoho pravytelstva v Manitobi," Kanadiiskyi farmer (25 Je 1915): 4.

[68] Letter, A. Zailo, Winnipeg, Svoboda (13 F 1902): 2-3; letter, O. Zelenetskyi, Rennie, "Ovochi spovidy," Ukrainskyi holos (25 Mr 1914): 6; and the editor's reply to Zelenetsky, "Shcho chytaty, shcho ni?" Ukrainskyi holos (8 Ap 1914): 6.

[69] Nestor Dmytriv, "Kanadiiska Rus'," Svoboda (22 Ap 1897): 2 and (20 My 1897): 2; "O vykhovaniu dityi," Kanadiiskyi farmer (6 F 1910): 6; letter, Teo. Minisan, Theodore, Kanadiiskyi farmer (9 Mr 1910): 3; letter, Ievh. Andrukhovych, Rosthern, "Novynky," Svoboda (25 Ag 1904): 1; letter, A.P., Stuartburn, Kanadiiskyi farmer (5 Mr 1909): 3; letter, Vasyl Romaniuk, "Chystist tila se konechna rich, abo bukva v?" Kanadiiskyi farmer (8 D 1909): 4; and "Divchata i zhinky - shanyite sebe," Ukrainskyi holos (3 Jl 1918): 11.

[70] Pavlo Tymkevych, "Visty z Kanady - Kilka maemo farmeriv v Kanadi?" Svoboda (3 N 1898): 2.

[71] K., "Z zhinochoho svita," Ukrainskyi holos (12 Ap 1916): 5. In a much later period and in an urban context, Ukrainian men praised the frugality of their wives (their savings helped "progress"), especially compared to the spending habits of the English; see Charles M. Bayley, "The Social Structure of the Italian and Ukrainian Immigrant Communities in Montreal, 1935-1937" (M.A., McGill University, 1939), 53-121.

[72] Petro Shcherba, "Chy dobre, shcho airyshski baby interesuiutsia namy?" Kanadiiskyi farmer (9 Mr 1917): 3. See also "Deiaki ang. zhenshchyny proty zhenshchyn 'chuzhyntsiv'," Ukrainskyi holos (8 N 1916): 4; "Holos pro nas v angl. presi," Kanadiiskyi farmer (2 F 1917): 4, and editor's reply; and "Senator ponyzhuie chuzh. zhenshchyny," Ukrainskyi holos (15 My 1918): 6.

[73] Letter, Pavlina Zelenetska, "Nashe zhinotstvo," Kanadiiskyi farmer (17 Ja 1908): 3; "Zamitky," Kanadiiskyi farmer (23 Ap 1909): 2; "Zamitky," Kanadiiskyi farmer (18 Je 1909): 2; letter, Marusia Rurkivna, Pleasant Home, Kanadiiskyi farmer (13 Ag 1909): 6; "Deshcho pro vykhovanie dityi," Ukrainskyi holos (1 Je 1910): 3; "Slovo hospodyniam," Ukrainskyi holos (6 Jl 1910): 6; V., "Dumky dumaiuchoi zhinky pro supruzhe," Ukrainskyi holos (7 My 1913): 3; "Chy zhinkam potribna prosvita," Ukrainskyi holos (11 Ag 1915): 6; "Chomu dytyna ne vchytsia dobre," Ukrainskyi holos (3 N 1915): 4; S. Chukhrienko, "Nezhoda v rodyni - prysviata ruskym zhinkam," Kanadiiskyi farmer (14 Ap 1916): 8; and Ukrainian Woman, "Z zhinochoho svita," Ukrainskyi holos (3 Ja 1917): 4.

[74] "Prymirna maty," Ukrainskyi holos (7 Ja 1914): 3.

[75] See, for example, "Chomu nam treba obrazovanoho zhinotstva," Ukrainskyi holos (28 Je 1916): 10.

[76] See, for example, "Nashi dity," Ukrainskyi holos (14 Oc 1914):

2; and "Khto vykhovuie vashykh dityi u Vinnipegu," Ukrainskyi holos (17 My 1916): 6. For the progressive sense of the evil of the street, although without the same emphasis on denationalization, see "Pamiataimo pro molod," Robitnytsia 3, no. 18 (15 S 1926): 8-12.

[77] James T.M. Anderson, The Education of the New-Canadian: A Treatise on Canada's Greatest Educational Problem (London and Toronto 1918), 8, 9.

CHAPTER VI

NASHA MERI AND KATIE

Reprint of Jacob Maydanyk's cartoon, "Nasha Meri," from *Vuikova knyha: Richnyk Vuika Shtifa v rysunkakh Ia. Maidanyka* (Saskatoon 1974), 3, omitted due to inability to obtain copyright permission. Four panels depict the transformation of a Ukrainian peasant girl with her headscarf and immigrant trunk into a powdered, cigarette-smoking flapper.

"Nasha Meri." The world turns and is turning upside down and in a single year our Maria Perih has turned into Meri Porydzh - forgetting Ukrainian and limited to "yes" and "no" in English.[1]

Just look at such a girl. She plants on her head a hat that an intelligent girl wouldn't even touch. She wears gaudy clothes that are as wide as a haystack. She says that it's the style - but it's well known that no one is interested in fashion like ignorant and stupid women and girls. It's the most important thing in the world to them, but they're the ones who have the least understanding of real beauty.

What's more, you see how such a girl puts on powder, by the shovelful. And it runs down her face, disgusting to look at.

Third, the gum. Wherever she goes - in the street, on the streetcar, in church - she munches like a cow in the pasture.

Fourth, to top it off, the English language. Having learned a little English, she doesn't even bother with her own language. Everything in English, especially how she twists her mouth and laughs. Already you have the complete Katie....

You con't call such a girl anything else, for she's no longer our intelligent, honourable, thinking girl - the daughter of her parents and the daughter of her people; likewise, she isn't a proper English girl; she falls into the category of those who live in darkness...and consort only with...low and characterless people.[2]

Nasha Meri and Katie - together they symbolized the Ukrainian immigrant girl grown to young womanhood and her Canadian-born sister testing the freedoms and attractions of the new country. Her bastardization of her very name a sign of alienation and moral ruin, Katie (Keidi) emerged in the press of the immigrant intelligentsia and rising socioeconomic elite assuming the leadership of the nationalist Ukrainian Canadian community. Nasha Meri (Our Mary), as the group possessiveness in her name implies, met with greater tolerance although sharing many of Katie's faults. Her creator was the satirist-humourist Jacob Maydanyk, more famous for his lovable but rougish Shtif Tabachniuk. As he coped with an unfamiliar world, Vuiko Shtif (Uncle Steve) provided his fellow immigrants with an often unflattering image of themselves while easing their trauma with laughter and practical advice.[3] Despite differences, all three characters displayed the undesirable effects of uprooting and transplanting as Ukrainians groped for acceptability and a sense of positive self-worth and group consciousness.

Guilty of rejecting traditional restraints and values, and of succumbing to the vulgar and superficial in the Canadian lifestyle, Nasha Meri and Katie were the female counterparts of "Jack," the maladjusted Ukrainian young man whose education began on the railway gang and finished in the bar and pool hall. Their numbers and therefore visibility, as well as their frequent rowdiness, earned the Jacks both greater publicity and notoriety,[4] yet the Ukrainian community came to regard Nasha Meri and Katie as the more serious problem. As prospective mothers and homemakers, they were crucial to the future of the Ukrainian group in Canada, determining not only the level at which the next generation integrated into Canadian society but also the quality of its

Ukrainianness. And as such, they became objects of community scrutiny.

Against the needs of a modernizing peasant society in an immigrant and frontier situation, Ukrainian pioneer leaders had to balance taking advantage of Canada's socioeconomic opportunities with the community motivation of individuals on behalf of group images and goals that the Canadian environment threatened. Typifying the first generation of Ukrainian girls to exhibit the undesirable consequences of intimate contact with that environment, Nasha Meri and Katie were subjected to the pressures, tensions and lures that would escalate among their descendants and increasingly agitate Ukrainian group activists and spokespersons. With Nasha Meri and Katie the Ukrainian community had to confront adolescent female rebellion against traditional demanding and subservient roles, parental expectations and community directives in the name of the larger good; it had to confront intermarriage, language loss and alienation from Ukrainian institutional life; and it had to confront competing with the material attractions of North American society for the allegiance of its youth. As prevailing conditions among adult peasant immigrants demonstrated, both Ukrainian respectability and prosperity in Canada and intelligent membership in the Ukrainian nation demanded enlightenment and reform among women. But as Nasha Meri and Katie demonstrated, enlightenment and reform together with the poverty that forced immigrants to send their daughters into the marketplace carried the danger that new concepts and independence, however lowly the girls' status and constricting the bonds of the prejudice they encountered, would weaken group ties and influences.

Over several decades the changing profile of Ukrainian Canadian women registered the revolution in their lives that the advent of

Nasha Meri and Katie signalled. It simultaneously, however, indicated that significant socioeconomic and cultural differences continued to divide them from other Canadian women. For despite the fears aroused by Nasha Meri and Katie through the 1920s and 1930s, well-entrenched Ukrainian tradition and Anglo-Canadian prejudice made them the exception rather than the rule. But the changes in women's relationship to the Ukrainian Canadian group that Nasha Meri and Katie portended - when women, as mothers and homemakers and as members of their community, were perceived as crucial to survival and the quality of life - exaggerated their importance. Group goals and needs dictated that Nasha Meri and Katie be retained and groomed by the group in the face of enticements from the larger society while encouraged to exploit its benefits and integrate with it. The problem was that this dual imperative created tensions and conflicts that, quite apart from the sheer weight of all-Canadian influences, inevitably loosened the bonds between women and the Ukrainian Canadian community.

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Nasha Meri and Katie emerged from the period of first sustained intercourse between Ukrainian immigrant and Anglo-Canadian worlds, the period when individual Ukrainian women, voluntarily and involuntarily, became an ethnic group. The educational and employment opportunities and higher standard of living that emigration brought encouraged and hastened change in women's lives at the same time as their sex and Ukrainian origin erected a double barrier to full integration into Canadian society. Broadened horizons represented not only personal emancipation, however, but also potential emancipation from Ukrainian group ties at a time when Ukrainians both sought respectability and a secure foothold in the new homeland and identified strongly with the old homeland's struggle for national self-expression. Ukrainian group membership, through community-prescribed responsibilities toward Ukrainian progress and survival in Canada and to the Ukrainian nation abroad, deterred women's assimilation into the mainstream. Likewise, Ukrainian group imperatives demanded that the behaviour of the rising generation of young women be monitored, their energies be channelled to useful purposes, and alterations in their roles and status contribute positively to their group's goals and needs.

The elite's problem of encouraging young Ukrainian women to exploit Canada's opportunities in the interests of enlightenment and progress while securing its influence over their thoughts and actions reflected a more fundamental dilemma. Inseparable from definitions of enlightenment and progress, this was the ambiguous reaction of Ukrainian pioneer leaders to the concept of Canada as a "free country." On the one hand, they recognized and applauded the democratic institutions and ideals that provided Ukrainians with political, educational and cultural opportunities, as individuals and as a group, unknown in the homeland. Indeed, the deliberate choice of Canada by Ukrainian emigrants yearning for such freedoms, and a sense of gratitude and great loyalty to the country that furnished them, have become entrenched ideas in the Ukrainian Canadian group myth.[5] The new environment was also perceived to challenge and erode traditional Ukrainian social controls and values deemed responsible for the peasants' ignorance and backwardness and contributing to their negative image and low status in Canada. Progressives, Protestant spokespersons and the secular nationalist intelligentsia alike agreed that in a "free country" priests could not dictate to their flocks, parents to their children, or husbands to their wives. In fact, argued one progressive, the woman who beat her husband for losing their savings at cards was within her rights in a "free country."[6]

On the other hand, the phrase "fri kontri" as used in the immigrant press indicated that Ukrainian pioneer leaders also distrusted the effects of Canadian freedom on the attitudes and behaviour of Ukrainian immigrants, particularly its interpretation at popular levels. The woman who profited from a "free country" to defy the laws of God and man and leave her husband for another, for example, won no approval.[7] The grassroots understanding of Canada that such an incident was seen to represent aroused concern at elite levels for two reasons: it justified doubts about Ukrainians' ability to escape their dark heritage and handle Canadian freedom, and it implied a popular perception of the Canadian frontier as an unrestrained liberating and liberalizing influence. If true, the new homeland would release Ukrainian immigrants not only from the old-country controls and values that the emerging Ukrainian Canadian leadership had rejected for inhibiting progress and enlightenment but also those it upheld as embodying the essence of the metropolitan heritage to be preserved and nurtured in Canada.

In their ambiguous assessment of the impact of Canadian freedom on Ukrainian immigrants, Ukrainian pioneer leaders echoed the sentiments of contemporary Anglo-Canadian nationbuilders. Although the latter spoke on behalf of different group goals and metropolitan ties, they too expected Canadian freedom to liberate Ukrainians from their legacy of backwardness and ignorance, particularly priestly influences,[8] and they too feared freedom's potentially destabilizing effects on susceptible peasants. Non-English-speaking immigrants, it was said, little understood the "institutions of freedom to which they have come":

> If they had been worthy of freedom, or capable of making right use of it, they would have fought for it in the land from which they came, or died fighting for it - as Scotchmen and Irishmen and Englishmen and Americans have fought and bled for freedom wherever they have lived. A people unused to freedom suddenly plunged in freedom need not surprise us if they run amuck.[9]

Electoral corruption, crime, violence, immorality, atheism - such evils were the price paid when Ukrainians were allowed to sample Canadian freedom without proper guidance in the "right" choices. To Anglo-Canadian nationbuilders, the opportunities their "free country" promised Ukrainian immigrants did not extend to permitting them to chart their own course if it was perceived to threaten the fabric of Canadian society or its future. Canadian freedom was to weaken traditional Ukrainian bonds, values and community mechanisms as much for the sake of Anglo-Canadians' ambitions for their nation as for the sake of individual Ukrainians.

Ukrainians who also feared that Canadian freedom would cause vulnerable immigrants to "run amuck" blamed it on their history of oppression coupled with the wholesale abandonment of traditional values and restraints. But unlike Anglo-Canadian nationbuilders, who wanted to replace Ukrainians' old-country heritage with their own, Ukrainian activists and spokespersons wished to reform while reinforcing a sense of Ukrainian group membership and responsibility. This was particularly true of crystallizing nationalist ranks, whose priorities came to dominate community thinking, in their campaign for acceptability and national-cultural survival. To such men and women, Nasha Meri and Katie (together with their male companion Jack) personified the perils of thrusting Ukrainian youth, the group's future, unsupervised and unprepared into the life of the new country. Lacking all propriety and social conscience, they not only became a laughingstock themselves but also further blackened an already unflattering group image and jeopardized Ukrainian national aspirations.

But if Nasha Meri and Katie symbolized an extreme and represented something of a panic reaction to a potential rather than the actual situation, they did not emerge from a vacuum. The conditions Ukrainians encountered in Canada made inevitable the conflicts and dilemmas they expressed, although the issues raised would become major community concerns only with their descendants. The poverty that forced both homesteaders and working-class families to send their daughters out to work removed young girls from parental and community supervision - to experiment with new ideas, new activities and new relationships that not infrequently existed uneasily with the old. Moreover, the insistence of Ukrainian community leaders on general enlightenment and education if Ukrainians were to prosper in Canada and serve Ukraine usefully combined with Canadian school attendance laws to increase the numbers of Ukrainian girls in educational institutions and their length of stay. But by introducing girls to new lifestyles and providing the means to pursue them, education fostered independence and choice, combining with other developments to postpone marriage and to create viable alternatives. At the same time, the biases of Anglo-Canadian society toward women and Ukrainians and ingrained Ukrainian attitudes affected the direction and scope of change on all fronts.

Like their immigrant fathers and brothers seeking paid employment, Ukrainian girls obliged as part of the family unit to contribute financially to its well-being had few skills to offer potential employers. The low-paying and low-status jobs they found - in service in private English homes, hotels and restaurants and as workers in Canadian factories - reflected this handicap together with their unfamiliarity with English and Canadian ways. The jobs also reflected Ukrainians' intended station in Canadian society, as Anglo-Canadians deliberately solicited and groomed Ukrainian girls for the occupations regarded as ideally suited to their talents and Ukrainian origins. Early twentieth-century assimilationists, for example, undertook to train Ukrainian girls as servants for middle-class Anglo-Canadian homes.[10] And interwar legislation designed to restrict and regulate East European immigration exempted agricultural workers and domestics, earmarking large numbers of Ukrainian female immigrants for a specific and humble location in the Canadian social and economic hierarchy.[11] Prior to the Second World War, only a small minority of Ukrainian women participated in the paid labour force, the greatest proportion by far working in the service industry followed by agriculture and manufacturing. But paid employment, especially the gradual movement into semi-skilled occupations and the even more modest movement into the professions, constituted a marked departure from the women's peasant immigrant predecessors.[12]

Upward mobility, however gradual or uneven, was the product of generally higher educational levels and decreasing sociocultural distance between Ukrainians and the Canadian mainstream that signalled integration with a concommitant lessening of anti-Ukrainian sentiment. The women most profiting from changing conditions and attitudes were the teachers, nurses, home economists and other professionals forming part of the new Canadian-born or -educated socioeconomic elite who, like their more numerous and vocal male counterparts, had their roots in the pioneer period. The epitomization of progress and the group benefits of enlightenment, some of these women assumed the interwar leadership of their sex. They sought to further Ukrainian community objectives through ideologically motivated Ukrainian-Canadian women's networks and local individual initiatives.[13] They sought also to improve the quality of Ukrainian Canadian life, often by working through mainstream agencies, by addressing homemaking, health and childcare practices among the mass of ordinary women, particularly in rural areas.[14]

The great majority of the first Canadian generation of Ukrainian women, the individuals of concern to community activists and spokespersons, either remained on the farm - to work, to marry, to bear and rear children as their mothers had done before them - or went to the city, however temporarily, as wage-earners. Besides material amenities and North American popular culture, the city offered freedom from often circumscribed and isolated life on the homestead together with financial independence that promised escape from unwanted filial obligations, female roles and parental authority. Inexperience and the lack of marketable skills, a nativistic host society convinced of its superiority, and their female condition nevertheless limited the options of Ukrainian working girls and subjected them to exploitation, prejudice and discrimination. Nor did their peasant background and the Ukrainian immigrants' rudimentary sense of identity help unsophisticated and inwardly insecure youth to cope with an alien milieu that made them ashamed of and eager to transcend their origins while erecting barriers against it. But to parents and a community anxious to retain and consolidate influence over their children and group members, the pressures facing the Ukrainian girl in the city were less disconcerting than what her attitudes and behaviour portended for the future of the Ukrainian family and group. In one sense typical of all second-generation immigrant youth caught between two worlds, Nasha Meri and Katie were to find their situation exacerbated by their group's image and status in Canada and by the demands their community placed on them.

Work, however, involved Ukrainian girls with mainstream society, something Ukrainian leaders advocated and promoted in rejecting self-imposed segregation for their group in favour of full participation in Canadian life while preserving national-cultural distinctiveness. But these ambitions, as Nasha Meri and Katie all too clearly demonstrated, were doomed without the widespread enlightenment of a people crippled by ignorance and oppression. To this end Ukrainian pioneer leaders insisted upon education for girls as well as boys, tackling not only general indifference or hostility to book-learning but also ingrained attitudes trivializing women's intellectual needs. No longer could Ukrainians presume that girls were adequately prepared for life if they knew how to cook, sew, clean and milk cows and valued hard work; no longer could physical appearance be ranked above things of the mind or spirit; no longer could it be argued that schooling, while necessary for doctors or lawyers, was irrelevant to girls whose future lay in marriage as farmwives; and no longer could women stagnate within the four walls of their houses, preoccupied with their petty cares and routines and oblivious to the world outside.[15] If the girl sent to work in the city needed enlightening, so did her sister who stayed on the farm.

Prosvita or enlightenment referred not simply to the knowledge derived from formal academic instruction. Rather it meant education in the broadest sense, expanding Ukrainians' intellectual horizons, making them competitive with the "cultured and civilized" peoples of the world, awakening their national consciousness, and stimulating their interest and involvement in local, national and international affairs. Ukrainian Canadian women who possessed these qualities would, as intelligent mothers and homemakers and as useful members of society, contribute positively to their group's image, its socioeconomic progress and its national-cultural goals. Without them, women condemned their families and people to a secondrate existence.[16]

Support for the education of Ukrainian girls also came from mainstream society as compulsory attendance regulations by the 1920s ensured at least elementary and some secondary schooling.[17] Moreover, Anglo-Canadians directly propagandized for the education of Ukrainian girls. Like Ukrainian community leaders, they objected to the popular wisdom that early and inevitable marriage and motherhood precluded the need for intellectual development. But while Ukrainian leaders defined female enlightenment primarily in terms of Ukrainian group objectives, Anglo-Canadians expected education to liberate the rising generation from the Ukrainian woman's traditional oppression and to assimilate it in the service of their own group.[18] Enlightenment through an aggressively assimilationist school system was in fact, to a community committed to national-cultural survival as well as integration, a mixed blessing. It provided Ukrainian Canadian women with the necessary knowledge but it militated against the Ukrainian consciousness that was equally part of enlightenment. Education both facilitated assimilation to Anglo-Canadian ideals and attitudes and enabled young Ukrainian women to eschew traditional roles for their sex, jeopardizing the hold that Ukrainian custom and community sanctions had exerted over their mothers.

The Canadian environment and Ukrainian imperatives also combined to affect marriage patterns. The traditional peasant approach to marriage that had united with a surplus of males and female indispensability on the homestead to produce young brides, emphasis on material factors and often hurried betrothal or remarriage had been large responsible for Anglo-Canadians' condemnation of the treatment of Ukrainian women. Their idea of a typical Ukrainian bride was a girl of fourteen or fifteen married against her will or without her consultation to a man more her father's contemporary than her own in a business transaction in which she was as much a commodity as her dowry.[19] Neither Anglo-Canadians nor Ukrainian community activists and spokespersons examined the relationship between the pragmatic needs of a peasant immigrant agricultural society and marriage. Ukrainians did, however, respond to Anglo-Canadian indictments and stereotypes derogatory to their group image, and they weighed the implications of prevailing attitudes and practices for the future.

In 1905 Kanadiiskyi farmer reported that a Mrs. Chisholm had advised the Woman's Christian Temperance Union convening in Hamilton that Ukrainians routinely sold their thirteen- and fourteen-year-old daughters for twenty-five or thirty dollars. The subsequent flurry of letters universally denounced this "scandalous slur" aimed at besmirching the Ukrainian people, and ascribed it to Mrs. Chisholm's ignorance and misunderstanding of an important wedding ritual where the groom demonstrated his affluence by presenting the bride's parents with a gift of money - often exceeded in value, it was pointed out, by the dowry he received in return. The message of outrage and injustice, however, was tempered by two concessions: that Ukrainians often deserved their reputation, and that something was wrong with prevailing attitudes toward marriage, particularly among the rising generation of young women. The same letters admonished prospective brides to become literate, to buy cheaper hats and put the savings in mutual aid plans, and to choose their male companions carefully; prospective grooms were told to marry literate women, for their wives would be mothers responsible for the consciousness and morality of their children.[20]

That Ukrainian men gradually placed greater emphasis on factors other than material can be gleaned from the "bride-wanted" columns of the immigrant press. A dowry declined in importance, as the new situation removed its necessity, supplemented by other stipulations signalling male perceptions of what was needed for success in the new country. Ukrainian men increasingly sought wives who were good housekeepers, of exemplary character, and able to read and write (some even specified English).[21] These also became primary considerations of the Ukrainian community, reflecting its intensifying concern for the spiritual and intellectual content of Ukrainian Canadian life. Group activists and spokespersons not only took issue with the popular belief that marriage and female education were incompatible and agitated on behalf of home improvement[22] but also turned their attention to the criteria governing a girl's induction into wifehood and therefore into motherhood.

Identified with the ignorance of an uncultured people, disregard for women, and unthinking selfish parents, early and arranged marriages came to be seen as impediments to Ukrainians' prospects; they had to be eradicated, helped by Ukrainian teachers, priests and other enlightened individuals lecturing throughout the colonies. Specific targets included the coldness and stupor of family life in a loveless marriage where one or both partners were unenlightened; the mental immaturity that ill-equipped adolescents for handling marital, domestic and maternal responsibilities; the health of a mother facing repeated pregnancy before full physical maturity; and the latter's all-important impact on the health of her offspring.[23] The hope of the future, Ukrainian children were not to be penalized by mothers forced into marriage and motherhood before they were physically, emotionally and intellectually ready. If a girl's right in a "free country" to decide when and whom she married was one consideration, the effects of adolescent and loveless marriage on Ukrainians' reputation and on the quality of Ukrainian Canadian life frequently overshadowed it.

Trends demonstrate that even in the conservative bloc settlements girls were postponing marriage. Postponement, like increased emphasis on love, reflected Ukrainian agricultural progress that made the peasant concept of marriage obsolete. By the Second World War the most popular age categories for Ukrainian Catholic brides in the large Vegreville and Yorkton colonies had changed considerably from the opening years of the century. Even during the pioneer period, seldom more than one-third of brides in any year were sixteen or younger (with fourteen-year-olds a rarity), refuting Anglo-Canadian claims to the contrary, and the proportion declined rapidly in the 1920s to the benefit of both 17-19 and 20-24 age groups, although the majority of Ukrainian girls continued to marry in their late teens well into the interwar period (Tables I and II). These statistics testify to a change in outlook and

TABLE I

PERCENTAGE OF BRIDES MARRYING IN DESIGNATED AGE CATEGORIES
PARISH RECORDS OF THE UKRAINIAN BASILIAN FATHERS
MUNDARE, ALBERTA

Year	14-16	17-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50 +
1905 (32/39)*	28.1	50.0	18.8			3.1			
1906 (43/48)	23.3	46.5	23.3	7.0					
1907 (43/43)	25.6	53.5	16.3	2.3				2.3	
1908 (37/37)	32.4	43.2	13.5	2.7		2.7	2.7	2.7	
1909 (32/33)	21.9	62.5	6.3	3.1	3.1				3.1
1910 (66/66)	12.1	71.2	9.1	4.5	1.5			1.5	
1911 (69/69)	24.6	55.1	14.5	2.9	1.4			1.4	
1912 (80/80)	25.0	57.5	11.3	3.8	1.3	1.3			
1913 (98/98)	27.8	58.8	7.2	2.1	2.1			1.0	1.0
1914 (82/82)	36.7	52.4	8.5						2.4
1915 (84/85)	33.3	51.2	13.1		1.2			1.2	
1916 (83/84)	36.1	48.2	13.3	2.4					
1917 (84/84)	32.1	54.8	7.1	1.2		1.2	2.4		1.2
1918 (75/75)	34.7	49.3	6.7	1.3	1.3	2.7		1.3	2.7
1919 (93/93)	22.6	50.5	9.7	3.2	4.3	1.1	2.2	3.2	3.2
1920 (69/69)	30.0	50.7	10.1	1.4		1.4	2.9	2.9	1.4
1921 (65/65)	16.9	69.2	6.2		3.1		3.1	1.5	
1922 (68/68)	11.8	60.3	25.0		1.5				1.5
1923 (40/40)	20.0	62.5	15.0	2.5					
1924 (74/75)	10.8	73.0	13.5		1.3				1.3
1925 (62/63)	4.8	66.1	25.8	1.6				1.6	
1926 (49/49)	2.0	67.3	20.4	10.2					
1927 (66/67)	4.5	65.2	24.2	1.5	1.5	1.5		1.5	
1928 (108/109)	0.9	54.6	34.3	4.6	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.9	1.8
1929 (112/112)	4.5	45.5	35.7	9.8		0.9	0.9	1.8	0.9
1930 (69/73)	1.4	43.5	50.7	1.4				2.9	
1931 (79/80)	3.8	44.3	39.2	8.9	2.5	1.3			
1932 (82/83)	7.3	29.3	54.9	4.9	1.2		1.2		1.2
1933 (48/48)	2.1	39.6	47.9	6.3					4.2
1934 (81/83)	2.5	30.9	54.3	7.4	1.2	2.5			1.2
1935 (64/64)	7.8	34.4	45.3	7.8	3.1	1.6			
1936 (99/100)	4.0	32.3	53.5	9.1				1.0	
1937 (73/75)	4.1	41.1	45.2	5.5	2.7			1.4	
1938 (88/96)	3.4	29.5	44.3	18.2	2.3			1.1	1.1
1939 (82/84)	3.7	31.7	48.8	9.8	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2
1940 (80/80)	2.5	42.5	42.5	10.0	1.3				1.3
1941 (69/72)	4.3	34.8	37.7	15.9	1.4	2.9	1.4		1.4
1942 (44/46)		20.5	43.2	34.1	2.3				
1943 (66/67)		31.8	53.0	13.6	1.5				
1944 (78/79)	2.6	29.5	50.0	14.1	1.3				2.6
1945 (49/49)	2.0	42.9	38.8	14.3		2.0			

*Proportion of marriages for which age of bride provided

TABLE II

PERCENTAGE OF BRIDES MARRYING IN DESIGNATED AGE CATEGORIES
PARISH RECORDS OF THE UKRAINIAN REDEMPTORIST MISSION
YORKTON, SASKATCHEWAN

Year	14-16	17-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50 +
1913 (21/21)*	28.6	47.6	14.3	9.5					
1914 (76/78)	15.8	46.1	22.4	2.6	5.3	5.3	2.6		
1915 (54/55)	25.9	53.7	16.7		1.9	1.9			
1916 (97/97)	26.8	46.4	19.6	4.1		1.0	1.0	1.0	
1917 (74/75)	27.0	54.1	14.9				2.8	1.4	
1918 (59/59)	18.6	61.0	11.9	1.7	3.4		3.4		
1919 (61/64)	24.6	45.9	16.4	3.3		1.6	1.6	3.3	3.3
1920 (45/45)	26.7	42.2	17.8	2.2	4.4	2.2	2.2		2.2
1921 (51/54)	13.7	49.0	21.6	2.0	3.9	5.9		3.9	
1922 (31/32)	9.7	45.2	22.6	9.7		6.5	3.2	3.2	
1923 (24/28)		79.2	16.7						4.2
1924 (32/37)	3.1	46.9	28.1	3.1	3.1	9.4	3.1		3.1
1925 (34/37)	5.9	52.9	29.4				5.9	2.9	2.9
1926 (42/42)	11.9	47.6	28.6	9.5				2.4	
1927 (43/43)		46.5	23.3	18.6	2.3		4.7	2.3	2.3
1928 (55/60)	3.6	41.8	43.6	9.1					1.8
1929 (69/72)	2.9	40.6	37.7	7.2	4.3		1.4	1.4	4.3
1930 (34/37)	2.9	41.2	44.1	5.9	2.9				2.9
1931 (46/50)	4.3	32.6	43.5	10.9	4.3		2.2	2.2	
1932 (41/51)	2.4	29.3	46.3	14.6	4.9				2.4
1933 (47/58)	8.5	25.5	48.9	10.6	2.1	2.1			2.1
1934 (49/64)	4.1	28.6	51.0	10.2	2.0	2.0		2.0	
1935 (31/41)		6.5	74.2	9.7	6.5				3.2
1936 (47/61)	2.1	34.0	44.7	17.0	2.1				
1937 (41/54)		17.1	58.5	14.6	9.8				
1938 (15/33)		26.7	60.0	13.3					
1939 (33/53)	6.1	15.2	60.6	15.2	3.0				
1940 (38/43)		13.2	55.3	18.4	7.9	2.6			2.6
1941 (43/43)	2.3	25.6	46.5	18.6		2.3			4.7
1942 (51/51)	2.0	19.6	58.8	11.8	2.0	3.9			2.0
1943 (53/53)		22.6	49.1	20.8	7.5				
1944 (72/72)	1.4	33.3	54.2	8.3			2.8		
1945 (51/51)	3.9	21.6	49.0	15.7	3.9	2.0	2.0		2.0

*Proportion of marriages for which age of bride provided lifestyle reflecting new educational levels, more time between school and marriage, the influence of Canadian law and custom and Ukrainians' own leaders, and economic factors like the Depression and the availability of land in the original blocs that affected the timing of a young man's marriage.[24] That Ukrainian brides remained comparatively young into the 1930s, however, testifies to the strength of old attitudes together with the cash shortages that continued to make a wife an important asset on the Ukrainian farm.[25]

But the woman who had perhaps worked before marriage or graduated from high school brought to marriage attitudes and expectations different from those of her peasant immigrant ancestor. They could assist her to become a more capable and intelligent wife and mother conscious of her responsibilities to her family, her country and her people. They could also make her dissatisfied with her role and alienated from the life that eventually enveloped her.

Even before the accelerated pace of change after the Second World War, the profile of Ukrainian women born or raised in Canada differed in major respects from that of their peasant immigrant ancestors, proof of progress, enlightenment and "Canadianization" together with a degree of personal emancipation. That it also differed from that of other Canadian women reflected Ukrainians' immigrant entrance status and Anglo-Canadian prejudices as well as the widespread persistence of Ukrainian linguistic and cultural points of identification and traditional attitudes toward women. Most adult Ukrainian women, if now the beneficiaries of formal education, delayed marriage and exposure to "civilization" through the school and work experience, were the Ukrainian-speaking, church-going wives of Ukrainian farmers - little suggesting a radical challenge to the status quo.[26] The community apprehension that participation in Canadian society could result in social disorganization and alienation appeared exaggerated and premature.

The apprehension was very real, however, for the role of progress and enlightenment was to make Ukrainians better individuals so that they could be better Ukrainians, not to liberate them from group obligations and controls. As such, it was not the ignorant and apathetic farm girl of the bloc settlement who conjured the most frightening spectacle. While of questionable value to her family or people as she stood, she nevertheless remained in a milieu and under authorities able to direct her enlightenment and progress along desirable channels. The truly frightening spectacle was the urban working girl removed from traditional constraining and guiding influences. She failed her family and people not by ignorance and indifference alone but by ignorance and indifference culminating in outright rebellion against the values, traditions, loyalties and obligations that bound Ukrainians and Ukrainian society together.

Although critics carefully excluded the "honourable industrious" girls who were a "credit to their people" from their remarks, and Ukrainians boasted of their girls' good reputation as domestics,[27] the Ukrainian farm girl set loose in the Anglo-Canadian city embodied the Ukrainian community's worst fears for the future. The popular image symbolized in Nasha Meri and Katie that occurred in nationalist literature, from the turn of the century through the 1920s, publicized and exploited those worst fears. In the process it revealed what community activists and spokespersons thought the future should embrace, the impositions their expectations and programs placed on individual Ukrainian Canadians, and finally how women as members of their group were to relate and contribute to it. Themselves examples of unacceptable behaviour and attitudes, Nasha Meri and Katie were intended to leave little doubt as to what was acceptable.

An Austrian government representative touring Canada in 1904 remarked on the popularity of Ukrainian domestics in Edmonton hotels and private homes. He also noted their taste for urban luxury and added a comment about their hats - so expensive and overstated that society ladies had switched to cheaper styles to avoid being mistaken for their servants.[28] As the Ukrainian community watched what was happening among its young women, hats attracted an inordinate amount of attention.

On one level, the flamboyant hats that found such favour with their owners symbolized the externals in the Anglo-Canadian lifestyle that the girls embraced and which Ukrainian leaders condemned - the face powder, the chewing gum, the fashions. Their excesses and the vulgarity of their choices that were a product of ignorance and the lack of guidance made the girls both pathetic figures and an embarrassment to their group.[29] On a second level, clothing symbolized an assimilation with Anglo-Canadian attitudes and ideals. Contemporary Anglo-Canadians fondly saw the discarding of their "quaint Galician garb" by Ukrainian girls as the outward manifestation of an inner revolution in which they identified with superior Anglo-Canadian values and standards.[30] In much the same way, Ukrainian leaders regarded "English" dress as the outward manifestation of an inner alienation from the Ukrainian Canadian group. For both the Ukrainian community anxious to keep Ukrainian girls under its influence and for the girls who wore them, hats had special significance as a statement of rebellion. An important ritual in the Ukrainian peasant wedding was the bride's exchange of her maiden's wreath for the headshawl of a married women.[31] In their preference for hats, Nasha Meri and Katie suggested that they were rejecting the traditional dictates pertaining to women's status and roles that the headscarf symbolized. Their gesture was perhaps less conscious and militant than the community elite feared, but it was nonetheless an unmistakable expression of emancipation.

A further expression of emancipation was the lifestyle that Nasha Meri and Katie equated with the city. After the isolation and physical toil of the farm - and after an often equally hard day's work for the English businessman or mistress - they fancied a "gud taim" (good time). Dances and the moving pictures offered stiff competition to church services and lectures, whether those of the Ukrainian or Anglo-Canadian community, each censorious of the girls' entertainment choices and intent on providing uplifting alternatives. Urban temptations and vices as much as the need for assimilation in the interests of nationbuilding led Anglo-Canadians to advocate live-in domestic service, with its supervised immersion in Anglo-Canadian home life, as the ideal employment for Ukrainian girls.[32] But it was this same supervised immersion in Anglo-Canadian home life, however, that made Ukrainians as wary of service in even the best of homes as they were of the restaurant, hotel or factory environment.[33]

How Nasha Meri and Katie chose to occupy their leisure hours received little support from Ukrainian community leaders. Together with the clothes, the affected mannerisms construed to be those of an English lady, and the obsession with expensive things, their pastimes reinforced the girls' reputation as frivolous, vulgar and worthless.[34] A letter, possibly the work of the editor who published it, that appeared in Kanadiiskyi farmer illustrated both the problem and the solution as the community perceived them. The letter was ostensibly from "Meri" to her parents in the old country who, bewildered by its anglicisms, had sent it to Kanadiiskyi farmer for translation. Meri reports that she is having a "gud taim" and proceeds to describe her latest shopping spree, material ambitions and boardinghouse adventures. "We see clearly from this letter," the editor states in his accompanying commentary,

> what our girls working in private English homes, hotels and factories come to. Excluding the more conscious ones, they become victims like the author of this letter. It would be timely to reflect on the danger looming over such girls. First parents and then all those who desire true cultural consciousness among our youth ought to be watchful of such developments in our "cultural" life and direct these Meris onto the correct path. As Shevchenko says, "Learn from others but do not forsake your own."[35]

Ignorant and unprogressive parents, in need of guidance themselves, were held largely responsible for the entire Nasha Meri and Katie phenomenon. Lacking a sense of self-respect and positive identity, their own sustaining values and principles, and any desire for the higher things in life, they were ill-equipped to inspire and guide their daughters. The meagre spiritual resources these girls received before being shoved, often far too young, into the foreign world, explained the irresponsibility, fascination with trinkets and frivolous amusements, and disdain of books and learning. Without proper instruction, it was argued, rudderless girls naturally and inevitably gravitated toward the worst in Canadian society, by which standards they became "civilized."[36] Exaggerating the consequences of careless or indifferent upbringing before pushing young and inexperienced girls from the nest was the essentially irrational and impressionable female nature.[37] That Nasha Meri and Katie's priorities and extravagances, indeed their very fate, could also have reflected their condition as members of an immigrant group assigned to the fringes of Canadian society, was little appreciated: Anglo-Canadians chose not to examine their own prejudices and Ukrainian nationalist activists seeking acceptance and respectability preferred to locate the source in the oppression of their European heritage. This left only the progressives to explore the relationship between the working girl's options and fate and the class, ethnic and gender hierarchies of which she was a part.[38]

The social disintegration attending the absence or rejection of traditional stabilizing influences that Nasha Meri and Katie's behaviour reflected was believed to culminate in moral depravity - the unsavoury characters the girls both attracted and found attractive,[39] the seamy underworld these men represented, Nasha Meri and Katie's own immodesty and sexual promiscuity. Censure and ridicule for conduct harmful to the Ukrainian group image and goals, as well as admonition to the delinquent to reform, were common practices in the pioneer Ukrainian nationalist press and by no means confined to Nasha Meri and Katie. Publicizing instances of adolescent waywardness among both sexes, of drunkenness and violence, of child abuse, of bigamy by men with wives in the old country, and of "instant" bachelors and widowers playing fast and loose made examples of the guilty.[40] On occasion the moral lesson was unmistakably direct. Dmytro Hunkevych wrote Zhertvy temnoty (Victims of darkness), he explains in his afterword to the play, in order to expose the evils waiting to ensnare Ukrainian immigrants in Canada, their ignorance making them easy targets for the scum of Canadian society. Zhertvy temnoty was a warning to male sojourners against alcohol and bad company and the temptation to abandon their families, and to young girls against over-hasty marriage and a lifetime of regret.[41]

If Nasha Meri and Katie's sins were immodesty and sexual promiscuity, the result was seduction and abandonment. Nationalists tended to blame poor judgment and gullibility, inadequate upbringing and guidance, and the female nature for making such girls the willing and shameless prey of the low type of men they pursued and were pursued by in turn. In nationalist literature, Nasha Meri and Katie seduced and abandoned were fallen women who should pay and be ostracized for their crime.[42] In progressive literature, the same girls were sympathetic victims as progressives tended to emphasize the sexual exploitation and ethnic discrimination that led to their ruin. One of Vera Lysenko's favourite themes, for example, is the Ukrainian working-class girl seduced by her English boss or the dandified scoundrel whose shady activities eventually destroy her too.[43]

Intertwined with the moral issue revolving around Nasha Meri and Katie's preference in men was the insistence that they be English. Writers to the nationalist press maintained that the crude, unscrupulous types they chased had already been rejected by more-discerning English girls. To lovers who neither loved nor respected them, Nasha Meri and Katie were merely objects to be used and cast aside. Only after their humiliation and desertion did they stoop to Ukrainian husbands.[44] Critics also complained that city life, embraced in a flight from traditional female roles in rural Ukrainian society, tended to ruin Ukrainian girls and young women as homestead or farm wives.

Expecting to be pampered, too spoiled to work and sulky when their whims went ungratified, they were an encumbrance to hardworking husbands. Most Ukrainian bachelors, according to an Alberta settler disgusted that Ukrainian girls would rather be English men's servants than their own farm mistresses, simply ignored such girls and picked willing farmwives from among new immigrants.[45]

The status and assimilation with the Anglo-Canadian world that Nasha Meri and Katie sought through marriage to English men also drew sharp criticism for its alienation from things Ukrainian. An early correspondent to the socialist Chervonyi prapor, for example, deplored the lack of national pride it represented.[46] Nationalist spokespersons were equally if not more vocal. They viewed intermarriage not as the stepping stone and desirable goal that Nasha Meri and Katie dreamed but as the harbinger of national suicide, beginning with the family unit. The "first" marriage between a Ukrainian and an Anglo-Saxon, celebrated in Dauphin, Manitoba, in 1897, elicited this comment from the officiating priest:

> "Assimilation!" trumpeted the Canadian newspapers. If only our culture could flourish at such a high level that the children of mixed marriages would retain the Ruthenian characteristics, then a race of people would rise of whom we could be justly be proud before the world. Otherwise, our women and the generations born of mixed marriages will be doomed in the sea of English civilization. But, on the other hand, they will not be beggars or slaves without a sense of human dignity, but they will be fully human. And that is all that matters. Or is it?[47]

Mixed marriage was to persist and intensify as a problem for a community increasingly committed to group survival; Nasha Meri and Katie represented only the tip of the iceberg.

One of Jacob Maydanyk's cartoon strips opens with Nasha Meri in her flapper's finery scornfully rejecting her mother's humble offer of a dish of pyrohy (dumplings). The second panel shows her arm-deep in dishwater as her employer watches. In the last panel she is again at home, hungrily devouring the once-spurned pyrohy while her mother in her kerchief thanks God.[48] The cartoon touched another serious community concern - the fear that exposure to the Anglo-Canadian world would estrange Ukrainian girls from their parents.

As early as 1897 the Greek Catholic priest, Nestor Dmytriw, observed that Ukrainian girls employed in Edmonton were ashamed of their parents' squalor and the "foreignness" that contributed to their image as ignorant and backward peasants.[49] In wishing to escape the same fate and associations, Nasha Meri and Katie were not unlike other young immigrant women of their generation straining against old-country heritages, although the Ukrainians' negative stereotype and lowly position in Canadian society undoubtedly exaggerated their shame and alienation. Dmytriw himself was not entirely critical of such girls (more apt than their male counterparts to absorb the Canadian traits most essential for Ukrainian progress)[50] but the coalescing leadership in Canada was less generous than the itinerant priest. It soundly condemned Ukrainian working girls who rejected their parents along with the discarded immigrant cultural baggage, especially when rejection involved repudiation of their filial responsibilities. Membership in the family was neither voluntary nor to be taken lightly, and the refusal of Nasha Meri and Katie to acknowledge their parents, part with their wages or return to help on the homestead was an unforgivable act of defiance and alienation.[51]

When Nasha Meri and Katie chose the marketplace over rural married life and its workload, or when they spent their paychecks on themselves, rejected the values and bonds their parents represented, wore flashy clothes and went to dances instead of church, and experimented with new moral standards, they were asserting their independence. However restricted by forces beyond their control, economic earning power promised emancipation from what were felt to be suffocating roles for women in Ukrainian peasant society and unwanted obligations accruing from membership in the Ukrainian group. A few individuals (significantly women) in the Ukrainian immigrant community were to stress that only a fundamental change in Ukrainian society and attitudes would end women's subjugation; true progress, they argued, hinged upon men and women who were equally enlightened and mutually supportive. These women also stressed that education was the key to genuine economic freedom, liberating women from marriage in order to survive and providing them with the means to decide their own fates.[52] At their end of the scale, Nasha Meri and Katie were neither given to theorizing nor interested in the comprehensive reform of society. But many of them knew what they wanted and would take full advantage of money in their pockets, new surroundings and opportunities and a new freedom of movement to attain it.

In insisting upon their right to choose their own lifestyle, Nasha Meri and Katie often failed miserably, made questionable decisions and looked ridiculous. Moreover, independence and emancipation were often more symbolic than real as prejudice and discrimination confined them to a bottom rung in Canadian society and tradition proved more ingrained than they perhaps wished to admit. But despite their faults and inarticulateness and often skewed rebellion, and despite the negative image in nationalist circles that reflected a selfish unconcern for the adjustment problems of persons and individuals, Nasha Meri and Katie were arguably the first Ukrainian Canadian feminists. Resisting Ukrainian community directives and expectations in the name of the larger good was a final statement of independence and it was on this that the community's condemnation ultimately rested.

In portraying the Ukrainian working girl and her rural sister, progressives emphasized their oppression, exploitation and discrimination. These were seen either to have stimulated the girls' class consciousness or to prove that such stimulation was the end to which the progressive leadership and girls themselves should devote their energies.[53] Despite its ideological constraints and impositions, this approach recognized the girls' humanity. The image of Nasha Meri and Katie emerged from nationalist ranks, however, and their approach subordinated the personal fate of such girls to their impact on their group's fortunes. Hats, face powder, chewing gum and the behaviour that cast aspersions on all Ukrainian Canadians were the lesser of two evils. The greater, beginning with Nasha Meri and Katie's penchant for English men and their rejection of parental values and filial responsibilities, was their alienation from their people. Denationalization lay behind the focus on Nasha Meri and Katie.[54]

Nothing in the moral deterioration of girls lured by the attractions of the new country and the independence it represented was so ominous for the future as their alienation from the Ukrainian community, for it meant not only their own renunciation of membership in the Ukrainian nation but also the loss of the next generation. When in their traditional roles as mothers and homemakers Nasha Meri and Katie refused to speak Ukrainian, discouraged their families' participation in Ukrainian community life, and failed to maintain Ukrainian homes, they acted as the wilful agents of the assimilation of their children. After centuries of resisting Polonization and Russification, it was charged, Ukrainians had to watch mothers in Canada raise enemies of their people.[55] Herein lies the explanation for the significance of Nasha Meri and Katie over Jack: women, for better or worse, were crucial to the future of the Ukrainian Canadian group in a way to which men could not aspire.

In the effects of denationalization, a new generation raised in indifference or hostility to things Ukrainian and unconcern for the larger social good, Nasha Meri and Katie had their rural counterpart. The farm girl removed from school at an early age for marriage faced a life of hard work, little intellectual challenge, and few opportunities for socializing or community involvement. Absorbed by her immediate surroundings and disinterested in improvement, she was, like her peasant immigrant mother before her, judged an obstacle to Ukrainian Canadian socioeconomic and national progress. Such girls escaped "denationalization" as associated with Nasha Meri and Katie, but they could guarantee little more by way of an active Ukrainian consciousness and a sense of community responsibility in their offspring.

That denationalization was ultimately responsible for the unsparing criticism of Nasha Meri and Katie is corroborated by articles like the following in the nationalist Ukrainskyi holos. The author, a man, had attended a Ukrainian gathering where two girls made a spectacle of themselves with their English conversation, affectations and rudeness. To the delight of the crowd, they were soundly chastised by a young bachelor, exuding national pride, who indicated their repulsiveness to intelligent men and lectured them on their shame of their language and people, their conduct and their emptyheadedness. While one girl burst into tears, her companion became angry, saying "Come on, Katie, I want to go." But Katie (her real name was Nastia) stayed, comforted by a group of girls welcoming her back to the fold and by the young bachelor moralizing that the sin was not stumbling but failing to get up. Today, the author concludes, Nastia is a decent girl, happily devoted to her saviour, while the real Katie has undoubtedly (and deservedly) gone from bad to worse.[56]

As Nastia demonstrates, Katie could be saved and her rewards were great - marriage to an intelligent, patriotic Ukrainian young man and happiness and security within the bosom of her people. Present too is the suggestion that the community would be forgiving of its prodigal daughters. Both the possibility of Katie's redemption and the use of her patriotic foil to advertise the benefits of identification with things Ukrainian were admissions that the community needed these girls. An entirely negative image and intransigent message were counterproductive if Ukrainian community leaders hoped to harness the rising generation of young women in what they defined as the group's interests.

The question of community influence over individuals in the name of the larger good grew in importance in the interwar years. With the consolidation of organized community life and hardening of ideological lines, crystallizing nationalist and progressive elites each sought to popularize their perceptions of what was best for Ukraine and for the Ukrainian group in Canada. The existence of a Soviet Ukrainian state diluted the sense of urgency in progressive circles, although the building of communism and ongoing class struggle ensured continuing and keen interest in mobilizing Ukrainian Canadians under their banner. Among nationalists, however, community motivation and control of individuals on behalf of group goals and needs became a pressing concern. An ambivalent reception and socioeconomic handicap in Canada had earlier necessitated monitoring individual behaviour in the interests of the group by aggravating the issues of image, status and progress. Now, the four-way partition of Ukrainian territories following the collapse of the Ukrainian People's Republic and insecurity of national-cultural life in the homeland aggravated the issues of national consciousness and obligation. Nationalist activists and spokespersons insisted that Ukrainian Canadians preserve and nurture their language and culture in Canada; assist Ukraine morally and materially; and equip themselves with the material, spiritual and intellectual resources necessary for the success of both objectives.

While this meant that all Ukrainian Canadians as members of the group shared its responsibilities, women's relationship to the group was unique. Traditional childrearing and homemaking roles made women vital to the quality and direction of Ukrainian Canadian life in the future, for on the atmosphere of the home and on a mother's attitudes and lifestyle hinged the values of the next generation. Neither Nasha Meri and Katie in their mutiny nor their rural sister in her ignorance and indifference could act as propagandists for community objectives, actively and consciously raising their children not only as useful members of society and good citizens but also as Ukrainian patriots. Nor would they themselves participate actively and consciously in the life of their community or contribute positively to its welfare. In addition, if the Canadian urban environment and its distractions helped to alienate Nasha Meri and Katie from their Ukrainian roots, the Ukrainian bloc settlements also had their drawbacks. By themselves, without enlightened leadership and organization, they could not guarantee that the Ukrainian milieu they sustained by sheer preponderance and inertia would provide the farm girl with a politicized national consciousness translated into community commitment.

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Ukrainian Canadian prosperity and progress, group survival in Canada, and duty to Ukraine demanded conscious and enlightened women prepared to shoulder their responsibilities as Ukrainian mothers and active participants in community life. Rudderless girls and young women, whether hostile, apathetic or simply unaware of the group goals and needs being defined by emerging nationalist and progressive elites, boded ill for the future. They had to be both mobilized on behalf of community objectives and correctly indoctrinated in women's familial and national responsibilities. To this end, nationalist and progressive leaders alike, including the growing number of female voices in the two camps, looked to "Great Women" who could serve as models and sources of inspiration.

FOOTNOTES

[1] *Vuikova knyha: Richnyk Vuika Shtifa v rysunkakh Ia. Maidanyka* (Saskatoon 1974), 3. Maydanyk's almanac was originally published in 1930.

[2] V.Ts., "Divchata, shanuite sebe!" *Ukrainskyi holos* (31 My 1916): 3.

[3] Vuiko Shtif's escapades, words of wisdom and correspondence with his wife in the old country appeared in various newspapers during the 1910s and 1920s (including special supplements in *Kanadiiskyi farmer* and *Kanadiiskyi ukrainets*) and often sparked a response from their readers. He was also featured in *Vuiko*, *Kaliendar Shtifa Tabachniuka* and *Humorystychnyi kaliendar Vuika*, jointly spanning the years 1917 to 1932. Maydanyk and his work are the subject of the National Film Board of Canada documentary, "Laughter in My Soul" (1983), directed by Halia Kuchmij.

[4] For the contemporary Ukrainian reaction to the Jacks, their degenerate behaviour and their impact on Ukrainians' reputation, see letter, Andr. Zaiats, Shillingthorpe, *Kanadiiskyi farmer* (21 F 1908): 4; Petro Ruta, "Z zhytia chytalni Prosvity pry hr. kat. ruskii tserkvy u Vinnipegu," *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* (3 Je 1911): 8; "Novyi mord mizh ruskymy 'Dzhekamy' v Vinnipehu," Ranok (19 N 1913): 1; "Dolia 'Dzheka'," *Ranok* (1 Ap 1914): 1; T. Vilshyna, "Z zhytia Dzhekiv," *Ukrainskyi holos* (29 Ap 1914): 5; and poem, I. Hashylnyk, "Nashi khloptsi," *Humorystychnyi kaliendar Veselyi druh* (1920), 149. Subsequent Ukrainian Canadian historiography has largely ignored the phenomenon and the problems of immigrant adjustment it represented. The major exception is Vera Lysenko's sympathetic treatment in *Men in Sheepskin Coats: A Study in Assimilation* (Toronto 1947), 95-7; see also Michael H. Marunchak, *The Ukrainian Canadians: A History*, 2d ed. rev. (Winnipeg and Ottawa 1982), 90-1, which maintains that the Jack phenomenon vanished with the organization of Ukrainian community sociocultural life.

[5] See, for example, Paul Yuzyk, *The Ukrainians in Manitoba: A Social History* (Toronto 1953), 190, 205-6; the wartime political expression of these ideas in Ukrainian Canadian Committee, *First All-Canadian Congress of Ukrainians in Canada* (Winnipeg 1943), 23, 34, 42, 93-4, 105; and their popular expression in *From Dreams to Reality: A History of the Ukrainian Senior Citizens of Regina and District, 1896-1976* (Regina 1977), 7, 13, 59, 69, 99-100, 120, 167, 178-83.

[6] Letter, D. Dubyna, Toronto, "Chy zhinka maie pravo byty cholovika?" Robitnytsia 13, no. 20 (15 Oc 1936): 15; see also M.Sh., "Cholovik i zhinka," Robitnytsia 1, no. 8 (1 Jl 1924): 4-6.

[7] Letter, Eye-Witness, Fernie, Kanadiiskyi farmer (16 Ag 1907): 4.

[8] Using the Ukrainian Protestant press to denounce self-serving priests holding the Ukrainian people in ignorance and submission, the Presbyterian clergyman and historian, George Bryce, stressed Ukrainians' right in a free country to think for themselves; he also attacked priests for resisting female education on the grounds that it made girls "proud or independent or saucy." See George Bryce, "Canadian Schools," Ranok (22 Ja 1919): 2; and "Children of Ukraine," Ranok (5 Mr 1919): 2.

[9] Agnes C. Laut, The Canadian Commonwealth (Indianapolis 1915), 113; see also 118-9.

[10] This was one of the functions of the Ruthenian Girls' Home in Edmonton, first opened in 1909 and operated by the Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church. Through classes in home economics and English the missionaries hoped to prepare Ukrainian girls for service in "good" homes.

[11] The Railways Agreement containing these regulations was in effect from September 1925 to August 1930. In 1931, of 3,898 Ukrainian immigrant women in the labour force, 64.2 per cent were in service and 24.8 per cent in agriculture; based on William Darcovich and Paul Yuzyk, eds., A Statistical Compendium on the Ukrainians in Canada, 1891-1976 (Ottawa 1980), Series 40.156, p. 406. For the effects of the Railways Agreement on Ukrainian immigration, see Myron Gulka-Tiechko, "Inter-war Ukrainian Immigration to Canada, 1919-1939" (M.A., University of Manitoba, 1983), 136-244.

[12] Between 1921 and 1941 the percentage of Ukrainian women in the labour force rose from 4.4 to 15.3. In 1941, 66.9 per cent were in service, 16.5 per cent in agriculture and 7.3 per cent in manufacturing, figures very similar to 1931. There were 553 teachers (up from 273 in 1931) and 231 nurses (up from 66 in 1931), forming 3.6 per cent and 1.5 per cent of the Ukrainian female labour force, respectively; nuns constituted the next largest group of "professionals." Based on Darcovich and Yuzyk, Statistical Compendium, Series 40.15, p. 391; Series 40.167 and 169, pp. 407-8; and Series 40.223, pp. 425-6.

[13] "Robota viddilu Soiuzu ukrainok Kanady, u Smoky Leik, Alta.," Ukrainskyi holos (12 Ag 1931): 11, illustrates the local leadership role of the Ukrainian female teacher in organizing women under the umbrella of one of the new national women's networks, although the women in question were more interested in organization to improve their homemaking and childcare than to become involved in community life. The extracurricular activities of patriotic teachers in the field of Ukrainian culture received much praise; see, for example, Danylo Kaliavskyi, "Dobri uchytelky," Ukrainskyi holos (2 Ja 1935): 2.

[14] The two major figures were Hanna Romanchych, retained by the Alberta Women's Bureau in the Department of Agriculture to lecture in home economics to Ukrainian women in the Vegreville bloc, and Savella Stechishin, who provided a similar service to Ukrainian women in Saskatchewan through the extension department of the university. Both women were community activists and pioneers in the national organization of Ukrainian Canadian women.

[15] On the need for female education into the early 1920s, see letter, Ivan Shch., Altona, Kanadiiskyi farmer (23 Jl 1909): 4; K., "Stanovyshche zhenshchyny u nas," Ukrainskyi holos (22 Je 1910): 6; "Chy zhinkam potribna prosvita," Kanadiiskyi farmer (24 N 1911): 6 (reprinted from Narodnyi holos); T.Iu. Popel, "Zhinoche pytanie," Ranok (27 Mr 1912): 2; "Chy zhinkam potribna prosvita," Ukrainskyi holos (11 Ag 1915): 6; Ukrainka, "Divchata prosvishchaites," Ukrainskyi holos (8 S 1915): 6; "Chomu nam treba obrazovanoho zhinotstva," Ukrainskyi holos (28 Je 1916): 10; A.Sh., "Suspilna pratsia ukrainskoi zhenshchyny," Kanadyiskyi rusyn (10 Oc 1917): 7; letter, Pavlina Zelenetska, "Nashe zhinotstvo," Kanadiiskyi farmer (17 Ja 1908): 3; Anna Arabska, "Obrazovanie divchat," Kameniari 2, no. 4 (1 Mr 1919): 134-5; "Dbaimo pro vykhovannia divchat," Kanadiiskyi ukrainets (3 N 1920): 6; Osyp Nazaruk, "Posylaite divchat do vyshchykh shkil," Kanadiiskyi ukrainets (1 Ag 1923): 4; and Osyp Nazaruk, "Divchat do vysshykh shkil!" Ukrainskyi holos (1 Ag 1923): 4.

[16] The importance of women as mothers in determining the quality of Ukrainian life in the future, and therefore the importance of female education, were argued by enlightened women as well as men. For the argument by women in leadership positions, see, for example, Rev. Sister Superior, "Rodychi! Vpysuite divchat do shkoli...v Iorktoni," Kanadiiskyi ukrainets (9 N 1927): 6; the speech by Maria Savchak in "Protokol pershoho ukrainskoho prosvitno-ekonomichnoho kongresu v Vinnipegu," Ukrainskyi holos (26 Mr 1924): 2 and (2 Ap 1924): 2; Anastaziia Troian, "Brak osvichenoho zhinotstva," Ukrainskyi holos (12 D 1928): 11; and D. Iandova, "Vartist osvity dlia divchat," Ukrainskyi holos (26 Ag 1931): 11 and (2 S 1931): 11.

[17] In 1921, only half of foreign-born Ukrainian women in Canada were illiterate as girls arriving as young children entered Canadian schools; by 1931, literacy requirements for immigrants had dropped the figure to 33.5 per cent, by which time illiteracy among Canadian-born Ukrainian women was lower than among Canadian-born women as a whole. By the Second World War virtually all schoolaged Ukrainian girls on the prairies attended educational institutions, although slightly less so in rural than in urban areas. Based on Darcovich and Yuzyk, Statistical Compendium, Series 32.1, p. 277; and Series 32.76, p. 289.

[18] "Enlightenment" to Anglo-Canadians also meant more than objective knowledge. The 1915 prohibition referendum in Alberta provides an excellent example of the assimilated Ukrainian girl being put to Anglo-Canadian uses when missionary-organized children, "trained and led" by Ukrainian girls converted to Methodism, paraded outside a rural poll to convince Ukrainian men to sign temperance pledges; see letter, J.K.

Smith, Edmonton, Missionary Bulletin 11, no. 4 (S-D 1915): 691-2.

[19] See, for example, "Some Teacher Experiences" (unsigned), William Martin Papers, 19165-6, Saskatchewan Archives Board, Saskatoon; and letter, Rev. W.H. Pike, Andrew, Missionary Bulletin 11, no. 2 (Mr-Je 1915): 388-90.

[20] See "Vidpovidy na zapytanie chy rusyny prodaiut svoi dochky," Kanadiiskyi farmer (7 D 1905): 2-3 and (14 D 1905): 2; letter, Iurko Babitskyi et al, Gimli, "V oboroni chesty ruskoi narodnosty v Kanadi," Kanadiiskyi farmer (28 D 1905): 2; letter, Iakym Kravets, Canmore, "Chy my popravymosia?" Kanadiiskyi farmer (28 D 1905): 2; and letter, M. Pidhirnyi, Bankhead, Kanadiiskyi farmer (11 Ja 1906): 2.

[21] Based on the "bride-wanted" advertisements in Kanadiiskyi farmer between 1906 and 1920. A significant proportion of men never required a dowry, while even in the early years a significant proportion also emphasized character, housekeeping skills, literacy and knowledge of English. Religion and patriotism were minor considerations.

[22] Every ideological press began to carry articles on childrearing and homemaking, introducing more-or-less regular columns by the inter-war years. Besides material with a definite ideological content and purpose, the columns carried much practical information on topics ranging from personal hygiene to food preparation and infant care.

[23] See, for example, "Zamitky," Kanadiiskyi farmer (5 F 1909): 2; Nykola Gavanchuk, "Ne kaisia rano vstaty, a molodomu vzhenytys," Kanadiiskyi farmer (26 Mr 1909): 4, which includes the admonition that Ukrainian youth avail themselves of a sex manual; letter, N.V. Gavanchuk, "Do choho dovodyt zavchasne sopruzhestvo," Kanadiiskyi farmer (25 F 1910): 5; "Na chasi," Kanadiiskyi farmer (26 Oc 1910): 2, 6; Vasyl Kormyi, "Zlo peredvchasnoho sopruzhestva," Ukrainskyi holos (29 Ja 1913): 3; "Dlia zdorovlia - koly ne mozhna zhenytysia?" Kanadiiskyi farmer (13 Mr 1914): 5; and "Druzhenie dityi," Kanadyiets (26 Je 1918): 6.

[24] Again belying the Anglo-Canadian stereotype of the Ukrainian child-bride and much older groom, most men in the Ukrainian Catholic parishes centred in Mundare and Yorkton married in their mid to late twenties throughout this period, with the average age gradually rising; parish records of the Ukrainian Basilian Fathers, Mundare, and the Ukrainian Redemptorist Mission, Yorkton, 1903-1945 and 1913-1945 respectively.

[25] It was argued that the Ukrainian wife's intensive and unpaid labour allowed Ukrainian farmers to prosper and expand at the expense of Anglo-Canadian farmers who hired help; see Charles H. Young, The Ukrainian Canadians: A Study in Assimilation (Toronto 1931), 63. The following percentages, computed from the annual reports of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics for 1921, 1931 and 1941, permit a comparison between the ages of marriage for brides in Alberta and Saskatchewan as a whole and Greek Catholics in Tables I and II.

		< 20	20-24	25-29
1921	Alta	27.5	36.0	17.4
	Sask	30.4	36.1	16.7
1931	Alta	24.5	36.9	18.2
	Sask	28.7	41.6	13.7
1941	Alta	22.9	45.6	19.2
	Sask	21.3	48.0	20.2

[26] In 1941, 77.3 per cent of Ukrainian Canadian women belonged to the Ukrainian Catholic or Orthodox churches (down from 82.0 per cent in 1931); over ninety per cent still spoke Ukrainian as their mother tongue in both census years. A sign of religious if not ethnic exogamy, however, was the significant decline in in-marriage by Ukrainian Catholic (from 77.1 per cent to 62.7 per cent) and Orthodox (87.5 per cent to 62.7 per cent) brides. Based on Darcovich and Yuzyk, Statistical Compendium, Series 30.1-12, p. 177; Series 31.34, p. 231; and Series 60.275-292, p. 699.

[27] Letter, Aks. Melnyk, Kanadiiskyi farmer (11 Oc 1907): 4. See also "Deshcho o divchatakh," Ranok (24 Ap 1918): 3; letter, Nestor Dmytriv, "Visty z Kanady," Svoboda (29 S 1898): 3; and letter, Kyrylo Genik, "Visty z Kanady," Svoboda (15 D 1898): 2. That not all working girls deserved the mantle of Nasha Meri and Katie, and that influences could work from Ukrainian to Anglo-Canadian is demonstrated by the Ukrainian servant girl said to have been the inspiration behind Songs of Ukraina with Ruthenian Poems (London and Toronto 1916), by Florence Randal Livesay of Winnipeg; see "Na sluzhbi ridnoho narodu," Ranok (21 Mr 1916): 3.

[28] Eugen von Philippovich, "Im Westen Kanadas," Osterreichische Rundschau 2, no. 24 (13 Ap 1905): 494. Other travellers in the West made the same observation; see, for example, Bernard McEvoy, From the Great Lakes to the Wide West: Impressions of a Tour Between Toronto and the Pacific (London 1902), 112.

[29] Only stupid girls, wrote an irate observer of the city scene, thought that a big hat with a peacock feather increased their intelligence; they should be reading the Ukrainian press and interesting themselves in Ukrainian affairs instead; see letter, Aks. Melnyk, Kanadiiskyi farmer (11 Oc 1907): 4. A correspondent to the interwar progressive press held similar views on powder and lipstick, when women should be spending their money on Robitnytsia to cultivate their class consciousness; letter, I. Okboro, Winnipeg, "Menshe pavdru i lyp-styku, a bilshe 'Robitnytsi'," Robitnytsia 6, no. 24 (15 D 1929): 762-3. See also Halyna B., "Nashe zhinotstvo zanedbane," Kanadiiskyi ukrainets (25 Mr 1925): 4, which stresses that powder and perfume and an obsession with external beauty should not obscure the need for a beautiful soul too.

[30] See, for example, Ralph Connor [Charles W. Gordon], The Foreigner: A Tale of Saskatchewan (Toronto 1909), 160-70.

[31] See Lesia Ann Maruschak, "The Ukrainian Wedding: An Examination of its Rites, Customs and Traditions" (M.A., University of Saskatchewan, 1985), 131-2; a bride initially refused the kerchief to show her resistance to leaving girlhood. Vera Lysenko describes this ritual in a Ukrainian Canadian context in her prairie novel, *Yellow Boots* (Toronto 1954), 119. A teacher in rural Saskatchewan in the 1920s remarked how the discarded headshawl reappeared for a funeral, suggesting the tenacity of tradition and community sanctions when faced with life's major passages; see Robert England, *The Central European Immigrant in Canada* (Toronto 1929), 90.

[32] See, for example, Ida Snyder, "The Ruthenian Home and School, Edmonton," *Thirty-Fourth Annual Report of the Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church* (1914-15), cxix; and letter, J.K. Smith, *Missionary Bulletin* 12, no. 3 (Je-S 1916), 522-3. Snyder also lamented the reluctance of the Home's girls to attend its compulsory evening classes and worship services and their preference for night life in the street.

[33] See, for example, V.Ts., "Divchata, shanuite sebe!" *Ukrainskyi holos* (31 My 1916): 3. Because of the loss of control and demoralization the city or "the street" represented, the immigrant intelligentsia did not like the idea of its girls going out to work in any capacity. Contemporaries in Galicia expressed similar fears concerning urban domestics; see Martha Bohachevsky-Chomiak, *Feminists Despite Themselves: Women in Ukrainian Community Life, 1884-1939* (Edmonton 1988), 98.

[34] See, for example, "Deshcho o divchatakh," *Ranok* (24 Ap 1918): 3, one of the few reprints from *Ukrainskyi holos* not accompanied by negative editorial comment. The pretentiousness of the painful imitation of the airs of an English "lady" that earned Nasha Meri and Katie such criticism was also condemned in Jack who tried to play the Galician "*pan*"; see "Dolia 'Dzheka'," *Ranok* (1 Ap 1914): 1. That Jack did not try to imitate an English "gentleman" no doubt reflects that he, unlike Nasha Meri and Katie, did not work in an English environment.

[35] "Lyst Myri do rodychiv v starim kraiu," *Kanadiiskyi farmer* (10 S 1909): 4.

[36] On parental responsibility for youth's character and behaviour, and therefore their degree of "civilization" and Ukrainian consciousness, see letter, Osyp Megas, "Kanadyiskym rusynam," *Kanadiiskyi farmer* (4 Ja 1906): 2-3; letter, Iakym Kravets, "Do ruskykh zhinok," *Kanadiiskyi farmer* (1 Mr 1906): 2; "Zamitky," *Kanadiiskyi farmer* (23 Ap 1909): 2; "Slovo hospodyniam," *Ukrainskyi holos* (6 Jl 1910): 6; Kyrylo Oliinyk, "Dbaite o vykhovanie dityi," *Ukrainskyi holos* (3 S 1913): 5; Friend, "Dolia nashykh divchat," *Ukrainskyi holos* (25 N 1914): 6; The Same, "Ukrainskym rodycham i inteligentam," *Ukrainskyi holos* (4 S 1918): 3; Semen Savchuk, "Rodycham," *Ukrainskyi holos* (25 S 1918): 3; "Nashcho nam obrazuvaty nashi dity?" *Kanadiiskyi ranok* (29 D 1922): 4; and letter, Ivan Novosad, Shoal Lake, "Rodychi, pouchit svoi donky, koly vysylaiete ikh v robotu!" *Ukrainskyi holos* (16 Ag 1916): 10.

[37] See, for example, V.Ts., "Divchata, shanuite sebe!" *Ukrainskyi holos* (31 My 1916): 3; N.N., "Zhinkam i divchatam," *Ukrainskyi holos* (26 Jl 1916): 8; and D. M-da, "Deshcho nashym zhenshchynam," *Ukrainskyi holos* (19 D 1917): 10.

[38] Progressives criticized nationalists' indifference to the human plight of these girls in their focus on the girls' relationship to Ukrainian community objectives. See, for example, letter, Ivan Turkevych, Winnipeg, "V spravi ukrainskykh robitnyts," *Robochyi narod* (18 Jl 1917): 4; and for a later period, when nationalist women's organizations were accused of serving the Ukrainian Canadian capitalist class and ignoring farm and working women's real needs, Mariia Saranchuk, "Komu sluzhyts 'Soiuz ukrainok'," *Robitnytsia* 10, no. 11 (1 S 1933): 3-4.

[39] That the term "Jack" was used in this sense without regard to nationality indicates that it was not identified exclusively with Ukrainian men.

[40] What follows is a random sampling of this type of article or reporting. On child abuse and neglect, see "Ne liutske obkhodzheneisia z ditmy," *Kanadiiskyi farmer* (8 F 1906): 3. On sexual immorality, a girl's ruin by an unscrupulous adventurer and poor judgment in choosing a husband, see letter, S. Podliasetskyi, Fernie, *Ranok* (28 F 1912): 4; and the short story by A. Novak, "Krasnyi muzh," *Ukrainskyi holos* (22 Ap 1914): 2. On bigamy, see letter, Fed Protosievych, Ranch Valley, *Kanadiiskyi farmer* (29 Mr 1906): 2; and letter, Al. Bombak, Teshford Mines, *Kanadiiskyi farmer* (29 My 1908): 5. On alcoholism, see Y. Shakotko, "Shche odna zhertva piiatyky!" *Kanadiiskyi farmer* (12 Ja 1910): 4; "Nam ne voli, ale horivky!" *Kanadiiskyi farmer* (12 N 1909): 2; "Ohliad z Saskachevanu," *Ukrainskyi holos* (6 S 1916): 2; and F.B., "Za horivku," *Robitnytsia* 3, no. 20 (15 Oc 1926): 8-9.

[41] Dmytro Hunkevych, *Zhertvy temnoty: Drama na 5 dii zi spivamy i tantsiamy z zhyttia ukrainskykh pereselentsiv v Kanadi* (Lviv and Winnipeg 1923), "Slovo do chytachiv."

[42] For a much later use of this theme with an unusual twist, where the Ukrainian girl transcends the bounds of morality and race with a Japanese worker in rural Alberta during the Second World War and is ostracized by the local community, see the short story, "Another Wartime Casualty," in Gloria Kupchenko Frolick, *The Green Tomato Years* (Toronto 1985), 103-12.

[43] Most of this work is unpublished, often only fragments of manuscripts. See the Vera Lysenko Papers, National Archives of Canada, Ottawa, particularly vol. 1, file 14; vol. 2, files 1-2; and vol. 3, files 1-2 and 5. The theme of the sexually exploited and defenseless working girl was also pursued in the progressive press. See, for example, F.B., "Dolia divchyny robitnytsi," *Robitnytsia* 1, no. 13 (15 S 1924): 3-4; and "Khto vynuvatyi za tykh divchat i molodykh zhinok," *Robitnytsia* 13, no. 20 (15 Oc 1936): 9, 11.

[44] See, for example, letter, Iakym Kravets, Canmore, "Chy my popravymosia?" *Kanadiiskyi farmer* (28 D 1905): 2; letter, One of Yours, Montreal, *Kanadiiskyi farmer* (10 S 1909): 4; Kyrylo Oliinyk, "Dbaite o vykhovanie dityi," *Ukrainskyi holos* (3 S 1913): 5; and Friend, "Dolia nashykh divchat," *Ukrainskyi holos* (25 N 1914): 6. The opposite of the coin saw parents forcing their daughters to marry English men because of the status it brought; for a condemnation of such parents as "enemies of their children," see letter, S.K.N., "Nechesni," *Kanadiiskyi farmer* (13 Ap 1910): 10.

[45] Letter, I. Lastivka, *Svoboda* (10 Jl 1902): 3. Enough men advertising in the Ukrainian press for brides specified that they be farm girls, or accustomed to and knowledgeable about farm work, to suggest that the distinction between rural and urbanized girls was important.

[46] Letter, H. R-kivna, Winnipeg, "Holosy robitnyts," *Chervonyi prapor* (5 Ja 1908): 3-4; the author also stressed the necessity of enlightenment and organization.

[47] Nestor Dmytriv, "Assimilation," *Svoboda* (24 Mr 1898): 1-2, in *Land of Pain, Land of Promise: First Person Accounts by Ukrainian Pioneers, 1891-1914*, comp. and trans. Harry Piniuta (Saskatoon 1978), 51.

[48] *Vuikova knyha*, 7.

[49] Nestor Dmytriv, "Kanadiiska Rus'," *Svoboda* (3 Je 1897): 3.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Incidents of haughty working girls publicly rejecting their "Galician" parents were often related with all the combined pathos and rebuke an author could muster. See, for example, letter, Aks. Melnyk, Edmonton, *Kanadiiskyi farmer* (11 Oc 1907): 4; and letter, Vasyl Romaniuk, Myrnam, "I chuzhoho nauchaisia, svoho ne tsuraisia," *Kanadiiskyi farmer* (13 Jl 1910): 4.

[52] K., "Stanovyshche zhenshchyny u nas," *Ukrainskyi holos* (22 Je 1910): 6; Woman M.O.B., "Dobro z emantsypatsiieiu," *Ukrainskyi holos* (14 D 1910): 3; "Zamitky - na nedavnu temu," *Ukrainskyi holos* (18 Ja 1911): 4; and M. Ukrainka, "Holos zhenshchyny," *Kanadiiskyi farmer* (12 Ja 1910): 2.

[53] See, for example, N. Kondratiuk, "Vazhke polozhenia robitnyts v Kanadi," *Robitnytsia* 8, no. 4 (15 F 1931): 7-8; letter, V. Chervona, Toronto, "Odna z bahatokh zhertv," *Robitnytsia* 7, no. 17 (1 S 1930): 27-8; and "Zhyttia zovsim inakshe," *Robitnytsia* 7, no. 19 (1 Oc 1930): 18-21. For the earlier period, see letter, Anna Novakovska, "Klych do tovaryshok!" *Robochyi narod* (22 Ja 1914): 2; and letter, Ivan Turkevych, Winnipeg, "V spravi ukrainskykh robitnyts," *Robochyi narod* (18 Jl 1917): 4.

[54] The secular intelligentsia in Galicia had, in fact, created their

predecessor in the Polonized "Wanda" who also shared their lesser sins; she is discussed in the manuscript, pp. 157-8 (Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Archives, University of Alberta) of Bohachevsky-Chomiak, Feminists Despite Themselves. In Canada, Nasha Meri and Katie were not the only ones accused of denationalization as female teachers criticized for their imperfect Ukrainian and shame of their origins bely the image of patriotic servants of their people; see T.Iu. Popel, "Zhinoche pytanie," Ranok (27 Mr 1912): 2. Jack could also be a member of the intelligentsia, equated with the assimilation that attended immersion in the Anglo-Canadian world. See, for example, N.B., "Shanuimo matirnu movy," Ukrainskyi holos (22 S 1920): 6; "Ukrainska kolegiia - holos na dyskusii," Kanadyiskyi rusyn (7 Ap 1915): 7; and One of the Former, "Obrazets z suchasnykh vidnosyn," Ukrainskyi holos (20 D 1911): 3, in which the Ukrainian girl acts as a foil for the denationalized young man.

[55] D. M-da, "Deshcho nashym zhenshchynam," Ukrainskyi holos (19 D 1917): 10. See also, for example, "Chomu nam treba obrazovanoho zhinotstva," Ukrainskyi holos (28 Je 1916): 10; "'Anglichanky' ukrainskoho khovannia," Ukrainskyi holos (6 Ag 1924): 6; and for similar sentiments from the progressive camp, "Riatuite svoikh ditei!" Robitnytsia 1, no. 14 (1 Oc 1924): 1-2.

[56] N.N., "Zhinkam i divchatam," Ukrainskyi holos (26 Jl 1916): 8.

CHAPTER VII

MODELS AND SOURCES OF INSPIRATION

In 1908 Ukrainian settlers south of what became Riding Mountain National Park received a post office and officially registered their small community. They called it Olha, after the medieval princess who as regent for her son ruled Kievan Rus', wisely and well.[1] Olha, Manitoba, joined a handful of pioneer Ukrainian settlements and school districts across the prairie provinces bearing great names from Ukraine's past - Jaroslav, Khmelnytsky, Bohdan, Mazeppa, Shashkevych, Kulish, Szevczenko, Taras, Franko, Petlura. The sole woman so honoured, Olha has been described by one of the major Ukrainian historians of the twentieth century as "a prototype of later Ukrainian women of the Cossack period who, as wives of hetmans and colonels, in the absence of their husbands at war, ruled the country, issued universals (manifestos), and took, on the whole, an active part in politics."[2] She also, in the propaganda and programs of the emerging Ukrainian community elite in Canada, became a prototype of service and activity for Ukrainian Canadian women. As a public figure, a wife and mother, and a saint, Olha embodied the virtues that were to inspire and guide them as they accepted the responsibilities of membership in the Ukrainian nation.

The ignorant and apathetic peasant immigrant woman and frivolous, selfish Katie whom nationalist spokespersons in particular decried were, of course, counterheroines. Much of Katie's force as an example of what Ukrainian girls in Canada were not to be stemmed from the contrast with her patriotic Ukrainian-speaking sister who won the admiration of the upright, nationally-conscious Ukrainian young man. Together Katie and her foil were to point the way to standards of conduct and values reflecting positively upon their people and furthering its interests. But in themselves they were inadequate vehicles. Concrete female models, with whom they could be encouraged to identify and from whom they could draw inspiration, would both spur and assist Ukrainian Canadian women to develop the qualities necessary to contribute meaningfully to their group in Canada and to the Ukrainian nation abroad. Who were to be these models and sources of inspiration, what images were they to project, and what roles were they to advocate? These questions faced community leaders sporadically during the period of first immigration, but especially under the vastly changed and changing conditions, in Canada and in Ukraine, of the war and interwar years.

The figures chosen as models and sources of inspiration for Ukrainian Canadian women, together with how these figures functioned, rested ultimately on the resolution of a larger problem - a definition of Ukrainianness and the ideal Ukrainian woman. No Ukrainian "way of life" assisted the elite in its task, while escalating religious and ideological divisions within the Ukrainian Canadian community rendered the possibility of consensus increasingly remote. The faces worn by the "Great Women" held up for Ukrainian women in Canada to emulate were many - maternal, militaristic, domestic, organizational, literary, Christian, revolutionary. They reflect different and frequently conflicting aims as their sponsors undertook to identify and elucidate women's responsibilities and roles as Ukrainians.

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Whether representing the fundamental nationalist-progressive split, the Catholic-Orthodox rivalry, or one of several secular threads within nationalist circles, the community elite crystallizing in the interwar years sought to influence the behaviour and attitudes of Ukrainian women. In defining women's roles and responsibilities, community leaders were both motivated and constricted by their particular faction's perceptions of and ambitions for the Ukrainian group, as a socio-economically handicapped minority in Canada anxious to improve its status yet preserve its national-cultural identity, and as part of a larger Ukrainian nation. Also affecting propaganda and programs for Ukrainian women in Canada, including how they should think and act as Ukrainians, were a faction's broader mandate and orientation. The Catholic faith and class struggle, for example, placed special demands on Ukrainian Canadian women that tied them to like-thinking women around the world regardless of nationality. The ideal Ukrainian woman who took shape in community literature of the 1920s and 1930s, particularly under the women spearheading the new national women's organizations, reflected the peculiarities of the camp from which she emerged and which she was expected to serve. Only certain of the "Great Women" from whom the ideal was fashioned became common property. The suppression or exaggeration of facets of their legacies that this sharing entailed, together with the exclusiveness of other models and sources of inspiration, testifies to differing conceptions of Ukrainianness and the obligations it imposed on women.

For all segments of the organized community, defining both Ukrainianness and women's relationship to the group was complicated by the absence of a distinct, well-established and satisfying Ukrainian "way of life" as a point of departure and reference. Ukrainians arriving in Canada at the turn of the century were not like their Jewish and Mennonite counterparts, for example, who possessed a law and tradition that provided a group-sanctioned formula for living and blueprint for survival as well as a focus and raison d'être for Jewish and Mennonite identity. Without this base, Ukrainians also lacked its mechanism for determining individual and collective roles and responsibilities within the group.[3] What Ukrainian women could or would be called upon to do in the name of Ukrainianness was incumbent upon crystallizing ideas of the nature of that Ukrainianness and how it was to be manifested with respect to Ukraine and Canada. Establishing guidelines for Ukrainian women was inseparable from the larger issue of establishing guidelines for Ukrainian life, particularly community life, in Canada in general.

Ukrainians' sole guide to "being Ukrainian" or to a "Ukrainian way of life" from their immigrant baggage was their peasant lifestyle. Its rhythms were dictated by natural cycles, a spirit world and pagan agricultural rituals incorporated into those of the church; its economy was unproductive, its standard of living deplorable; and resignation and resistance to change among recent serfs reflected a typical peasant mentality. Ukrainians in Canada, who had emigrated because of the deficiencies of that peasant lifestyle, could not find in it a formula or blueprint for the future. Not only did they reject its unprogressive socioeconomic underpinnings as an impediment to upward mobility and acceptance in Canada, but the resulting modernization also ensured alienation from the rhythms, rituals and beliefs that had governed the Ukrainian peasants' actions and worldview. Neither could their peasant cultural baggage - despite language, religion and various folk expressions (crafts, songs and tales, dances) - furnish the politicized Ukrainian consciousness that was only then penetrating their villages in Ukraine and which community propaganda and programs in Canada came to demand.

To the nationalist elite in particular, as events in Ukraine made group survival in Canada and active support of the homeland imperative, Ukrainianness could not be limited to the rote practice of one's faith, mother tongue or folk culture. But neither was Ukrainianness to be erected upon a Ukrainian "way of life." From the beginning, Ukrainians sought full participation in Canadian socioeconomic, political and cultural life and acceptance by the host society as its equals. They considered themselves a "group" because of membership in the Ukrainian nation, which carried certain obligations and needs, not because of external socioeconomic influences and prejudices dictating their status or the desire to maintain a lifestyle distinct from that of other Canadians. Unlike Mennonite Canadians, for example, who found the materialism and individualism of the Canadian environment a challenge to their whole concept of being, Ukrainians could adapt to Canada and be fully Canadian while remaining Ukrainian.

This insistence on progress and integration coupled with the insistence on the right and necessity to maintain themselves as a distinct national-cultural community with ties to the homeland created problems, however, for those formulating and articulating group images, goals and responsibilities. On the one hand, it was essential to convince mainstream Canadian society of the justice of the Ukrainian position while resisting assimilation. On the other hand, it was essential to tread a fine line between integration and progress and Ukrainian particularism, for participation in Canadian life and the pursuit of its benefits could jeopardize community control. Ukrainian women and girls, for example, had to be educated and enlightened in order to assume their place among "civilized" peoples and to serve their own people usefully, but new ideas and broadened horizons could also lose them to their group.

These variables affected the impact of Ukrainianness as a rallying point for Ukrainian Canadian men and women. They affected the female models chosen to inspire and instruct Ukrainian Canadian women less. Being Ukrainian was not to impair being Canadian, yet the "Great Women" whom Ukrainian women in Canada were to imitate neither faced the dilemma of satisfying two mistresses nor provided guidance in accommodating and reconciling their tensions. Models and sources of inspiration reflected their major function, which was to motivate and assist Ukrainian Canadian women in recognizing and fulfilling their responsibilities as Ukrainians. For this reason, although non-Ukrainian women had important lessons to teach, they could not replace Ukrainian women in significance and emotional appeal. And Ukrainian "Great Women" came from Ukraine, not Canada. The peasant nature of the immigration, with women occupying a subordinate and inferior position, was not conducive to the creation of exceptional figures, just as the Canadian environment did not produce larger-than-life Ukrainian heroines who could compete with their sisters in the homeland.

The absence of female models from the ranks of contemporary

Canadian women or heroines from Canada's past was in one respect the consequence of Ukrainian marginality and alienation from mainstream women's circles. But something more serious was at stake. Anglo-Canadian women had much to offer, particularly as examples of female deportment and national service, but the pioneer intelligentsia-elite faced with defining Ukrainian community objectives and harnessing women in their interests saw a double-edged sword. For they were not the only ones to try to influence the behaviour and attitudes of Ukrainian women in Canada through female models and sources of inspiration. To the early twentieth-century Anglo-Canadian elite charged with nationbuilding, its women were important ammunition in the campaign to assimilate Ukrainian women to Anglo-Canadian standards of conduct and ways of thinking.

"The foreign women, in too many instances, have few or no opportunities for the development of womanhood according to Anglo-Saxon ideals," stated the prominent Saskatchewan educator, James T.M. Anderson, in 1918,

> but are little better than slaves, who toil laboriously at the beck and call of inconsiderate husbands, whose lack of proper respect for womanhood is a heritage of darker ages. Great work lies ahead of us, as Canadians, to see that these women are given an opportunity to learn our language and to become familiar with ideals of womanhood and motherhood.[4]

The ideal woman in contemporary Anglo-Canadian propaganda was pure, noble, delicate, maternal, domestic, ornamental. She had little in common with what Anglo-Canadians perceived as the lot of Ukrainian peasant women: loveless marriage, physical abuse, indifferent housekeeping and mothering, treatment as domestic drudges and beasts of burden. Left to themselves, contended Anglo-Canadians concerned with the effects of large-scale non-British immigration on the national fabric, Ukrainian women would preserve an unpalatable and menacing status quo. But converted to Anglo-Canadian ideas of proper womanly conduct and imbued with the British and Protestant principles underpinning the Canadian nation, they would, through their dominance in the home (specifically in childrearing), be powerful agents for change and assimilation. The emancipation of Ukrainian women and girls was necessary, therefore, for the sake of future Canadian citizenship. Programs for their uplifting and enlightenment reflected this, seeking not to assist them as members of an immigrant peasant society in transition but to divorce them from that world, recreated in the image of the middle-class Anglo-Canadian wife and mother and manipulated to serve her group's interests.

J.T.M. Anderson's solution to the problem of assimilating Ukrainian women and girls to Anglo-Canadian mores and standards of behaviour was to place "the best type of our Canadian womanhood" in their midst. Not the conventional heroines of British or Canadian history but ordinary teachers, missionaries and community workers stationed in the Ukrainian bloc settlements of western Canada were to be the models and sources of inspiration for Ukrainian women as they underwent "Canadianization." Well-publicized successes and none-too-subtle propaganda appealing to Anglo-Canadians' patriotism underscored not only the challenge and urgency of "foreign work" but also its rewards and were intended to enlist Anglo-Canadian women in its cause.[5] Operating from isolated teacherages or one of the school homes or medical missions established by the Presbyterian and Methodist churches in Ukrainian districts, the women who answered the call shared the conviction that theirs was a special duty and unique opportunity to acquaint non-English-speaking women and girls with everything good in Canadian womanhood.

For adult Ukrainian women, whose isolation and indifference to self and home improvement were seen to retard the assimilation of their children, they conducted English, sewing, cooking, hygiene and childcare classes, together with Bible study and worship services. As for the women's daughters, they were prepared to supplant the home and family in training future wives, mothers and homemakers.[6] With an image of "fathers carrying the load and walking hand in hand down the trail with the mothers," a Saskatchewan teacher explained her tactics:

> My house on the school grounds was invaluable in helping me towards realizing the hopes I had for the district. Girls stayed with me and learned cleanliness in cooking and preparing simple wholesome dishes. I was extremely particular about the care of my own hair and person, the cleanliness of the teacherage and cooking utensils. It had the effect of making them realize there was something sadly lacking in their way of living, and the marked improvement in their homes exceeded all my expectations. They copied me as closely as it was possible for them to do in eating, table manners, housekeeping, cooking, dress and actions. For that reason I tried to do my best. I polished my shack with greater care to receive a mother in a sheepskin coat and shawl than I would clean my home in preparation for afternoon tea.[7]

Mission centres with their captive audience were even better equipped to create female ambassadors of British Canadian civilization and values. Their aggressive programs of evangelization and "Canadianization" and instruction in home economics, where girls assisted in the domestic tasks of the institution, were designed to train not servants for English mistresses but "good little homemakers in their mother's home, and later creditable wives for the rising generation of Austrian Canadian young men."[8]

The female missionaries and teachers who undertook to instruct the maturing generation in dress, deportment and domestic skills also addressed the more fundamental question of the position of women in

Ukrainian immigrant society. What Ukrainian girls in the bloc settlements of western Canada needed, one wag quipped, was a course in "filial disobedience and rights and privileges of this free country."[9] They had to be taught to rebel against overwork, abuse, authoritarian fathers, early forced marriages, and domineering husbands who neither loved nor respected them; they had to be convinced of their right to and the need for education; and they had to be made to appreciate their own worth. Again, the best of Anglo-Canadian womanhood served as their models and inspiration. "The Home-trained girl," maintained an employer of Ukrainian servants in speaking of the missionaries' achievements,

> has invariably the Canadian woman's viewpoint of the self-respect and independency of womanhood as distinguished from the Slav idea of subserviency. They would much rather earn their own living among Anglo Saxons than go home to be literally given away, by parents, as wives to some men for whom they have no love. This may be undermining discipline in the Slav home, as some see it, but it is unquestionably the Canadian ideal and has the approval of many enlightened Slav parents.[10]

But success was not always assured. In a short story written in 1914, a teacher labouring to convert her star pupil to book learning and women's emancipation betrays the sense of helplessness, disenchantment and bitterness that plagued these women when they proved impotent against the weight of centuries-old habits and attitudes; her protégé rejects business college to marry a local Ukrainian hero and ex-convict, explaining, "I am not like you - I am only a woman, you know."[11]

Anglo-Canadian proselytization, religious and secular, persisted with entrenchment into the 1930s. As models of Anglo-Canadian superiority able to influence Ukrainian women and girls, the teachers and missionaries were limited - by their small numbers and isolation, their cultural alienation, their attitudes and their social composition.

Young, single women from middle-class homes in the East were inexperienced authorities on marriage and maternity, unable to show the ideal wife and mother in action. Subsequent Ukrainian Canadian literature questions the picture of self-sacrificing virtue and charity of contemporary Anglo-Canadian propaganda, portraying these women as self-centred, aloof, demanding and prejudiced.[12] And at the time, Ukrainians harshly condemned the assimilation and self-contempt the missionaries encouraged so that young girls shouted in their bad English, "Mother, you are a dirty Galician. I am Canadian. I hate you."[13]

The fact is that the interests of class and race that propelled Anglo-Canadian women into foreign work qualified the enlightenment and emancipation they advocated for Ukrainian women. The early twentieth-century campaign for female suffrage made this abundantly clear when Anglo-Canadian women sought their own enfranchisement to neutralize the foreign male electorate with its corrupting influence on democracy.[14] Ukrainian Canadian women, in effect, were not to be the equals of the Anglo-Canadian women they were told to emulate, but "liberated" only as far as the status accorded Ukrainians as a whole in Canadian society permitted.

As ambassadors of Anglo-Canadianism or North American values, individual teachers and missionaries would be surpassed by more pervasive and powerful influences - the school itself, the mail-order catalogue, the workplace, mass advertising and the mass media - whose mixed messages often clashed with those of early twentieth-century flagbearers. But to their counterparts among the emerging Ukrainian community leadership, these women, together with the baser attractions of Canadian society that lured Nasha Meri and Katie to their downfall, represented a serious threat. Ukrainian community spokespersons and activists insisted upon education and progress to secure their group's future in Canada and to enable it to discharge its obligations toward Ukraine. But they quite recognized the dangers in the exposure to the Anglo-Canadian world that education and progress entailed. Wary of assimilation, Ukrainian Canadians held up no great Canadian women, either from the past or from the best type of Canadian womanhood toiling in their midst for the greater national good, for Ukrainian Canadian women to venerate and imitate.[15]

Attitudes toward Anglo-Canadian women, however, were ambiguous. While faulting Ukrainian women for adopting English dress, foods and speech, and condemning the deeper alienation they symbolized, Ukrainian Canadian leaders wanted the upward mobility and integration that they represented. Anglo-Canadian women were also examples of female initiative, organization, household management and civic responsibility. Unlike Ukrainian girls, English girls read widely and put their knowledge to good use; unlike Ukrainian housewives, English housewives spent their days industriously and reared their children well; and unlike Ukrainian women, English women respected, honoured and served their people and its needs. They also showed the way to participation in Canadian national and political life.[16] If their assimilatory goal and message could be circumvented, Anglo-Canadian women had much to teach Ukrainian women. Self-improvement, a social conscience and national commitment would make them better Ukrainians. But ultimately, as models and sources of inspiration for fulfilling that role, Anglo-Canadian women were inadequate.

The nineteenth-century renaissance in Ukraine culminated for

Ukrainian Canadian nationalists in the aborted bid for statehood in 1917-20, followed by national-cultural oppression under Ukraine's partitioners and the continuing struggle for an independent united Ukrainian state; for Ukrainian Canadian progressives the establishment of Soviet power brought the all-consuming task of constructing a communist paradise in their homeland. In both cases the Anglo-Canadian womanly ideal, domestic and passive, had little to offer by way of inspiration or example. Ukraine required strong and active women convinced of the rightness of their cause and prepared to work tirelessly on its behalf, shouldering a public responsibility and role in addition to their primary function in the home. For models and inspiration the interwar Ukrainian Canadian community turned to women exhibiting greater vision and called to greater effort and sacrifice than Anglo-Canadian suffragettes or school teachers in Ukrainian colonies - to contemporary Ireland, for example, and to the very East European nations against whom Ukrainians were struggling for national existence.

A recurring theme on the women's pages of the interwar nationalist press was that women deserved much of the blame for Ukrainians' failure to create their own state. Neither had the great mass of women sufficiently supported their nation's struggle themselves, either on the homefront or in battle, nor had they imbued their children with the patriotic fervour necessary for victory. In the 1930s, women representing emigré circles linked to the militant, right-wing Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) working underground in Galicia repeatedly criticized their sex for its negative impact on the recent independence struggles. A Ukrainian state would exist today, they said, had women grasped the fundamental principle of "nation above all" and acted accordingly. In founding the Ukrainian Women's Organization of Canada (UWOC) in 1934, these women insisted that Ukrainians' next opportunity to realize their independence could not find their sex, whether in Ukraine or in emigration, equally unprepared.[17]

But already in 1919 women addressing their sister immigrants in Ukrainskyi holos, future mouthpiece of the Orthodox-affiliated Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada (UWAC), drew attention to the deficiencies of their sex at a time when the liberation struggle demanded conscious, zealous women. In the conflict for control of Galicia, Polish women were shouldering arms, proud to be an example to their men in murdering and enslaving their Ukrainian enemies. But Ukrainian immigrant women "cowered like mice in their holes," indifferent to the fate of their nation: they permitted the assimilation of their children and they shunned broader community activity, whether the telegrams protesting Polish ambitions in Galicia or the Red Cross work so suited to women's talents.[18] Even women in the UWOC, to whom the interwar Polish state was anathema, pointed to the Polish women who had not only fought themselves for Poland's rebirth but exhorted and shamed their menfolk to do likewise, as models of female service and sacrifice for their nation. And Ukrainians needed women like them, identifying unflinchingly with their nation's struggle, if they hoped for success when the anticipated European war gave them their second chance.[19]

The women the UWOC chose as models and inspiration reflected the brand of nationalism it and the male Ukrainian National Federation shared with the OUN. Hierarchical, militaristic and totalitarian, its ideology preached the primacy of the nation, with all resources - material, spiritual and human - mobilized in its service, and exalted the state as the highest form of evolution in the struggle of each national organism for existence.[20] Statelessness imposed special burdens and obligations. For Ukrainian women it meant that motherhood and homemaking, their "natural" functions, were not enough. Besides rearing "fresh cadres of young nationalist warriors,"[21] they had themselves to participate actively and directly in the liberation struggle, ready to die for their country, and to work alongside men in public and national life. For models and inspiration, the UWOC turned to women of action and fervent commitment to the national idea: Joan of Arc, the prototype of the willing martyr for her nation; Spartan mothers who ordered their sons into battle, their maternal sacrifice the epitome of national devotion; Italian unification fighters who died with "long live Italy" on their lips and their successors who gave their wedding rings to finance Mussolini's Ethopian war; and Nazi mothers who admonished small boys when they cried on scraping their knees that their nation's soldiers had lost entire legs without a whimper.[22]

In combining a public role with women's first role in the nursery, the UWOC was not proposing anything revolutionary. Nations have always asked more from their citizens in times of crisis without intending to formalize these changes upon return to normalcy. Nazi ideology, for example, placed extra demands on German women while the movement was struggling, but Hitler's consolidation of power saw them eased back into their traditional stabilizing role in the family; then again, as Germany prepared for war, they were recruited into the labour force to release males for military needs.[23] Canada's wartime approach was similar: officially sponsored entry into the workplace during manpower shortages, officially encouraged exit when demobilized veterans needed jobs and women were to resume their proper place in the home.[24] Women in both countries were impressed with the necessity of sacrifice for their nation during emergency, and women in both countries acquiesced in the return to domesticity at its end. The UWOC was to be no different. With the achievement of a free and united independent Ukrainian state, wrote one of the movement's principal organizers, women would be released from their labours into the bosom of the family.[25]

The UWOC was the major women's organization in the interwar nationalist community to be identified with the second immigration, specifically the veterans of the defeated republican armies with their emigré mentality.[26] Both the UWAC and the Ukrainian Catholic sisterhoods (the Ukrainian Catholic Women's League was not incorporated until 1944) were, of course, augmented by interwar immigrants but they had their roots in the period of initial settlement and were spearheaded by the Canadian born or raised. Their nationalism lacked the militancy and rightist extremism of the UWOC and focused on the Ukrainian group in Canada as much as Ukraine in Europe. But they too believed that being Ukrainian imposed special group obligations, with the individual mobilized for and subordinated to the collective good. And like the UWOC, they insisted that the unresolved Ukrainian question obligated women to assume an active role in the community and national life. But the female images that organized Orthodox and Catholic laity cultivated were less militant, less militaristic, and less dogmatic, reflecting different conceptions and expectations concerning female behaviour and roles. The major Ukrainian Catholic heroine is particularly revealing.

The patroness of organized Ukrainian Catholic women in Canada is Mary, the Holy Mother of God of the miraculous icon of Pochaiv with her power of healing and love for the Ukrainian people.[27] Their official hymn, "O spomahai nas Divo Mariie" (Oh, help us, Virgin Mary), they describe as a "prayer of supplication" for Mary's intercession with Christ for assistance in fulfilling their responsibilities, which are to support and promote the Catholic faith, Ukrainian culture, Canadian citizenship and Christian charity.[28] In keeping with their church's teaching, Ukrainian Catholic women have been the most reluctant to suggest that woman's first priority as mother and homemaker be supplemented by a public role dictated by her group's needs. They have also been the most inclined to define that public role as an extension of her domestic and maternal responsibilities and in terms of innate gender differences; charitable works, for example, have long been perceived as ideal outlets for women's "natural" nurturing talents.[29] The emphasis on Mary reflects this endorsement of woman's place in the home and family and of the womanly ideal she represents - piety, humility, compliance, motherly love, wifely devotion, self-sacrifice.[30] Nor were Ukrainian Catholics alone in this image and use of Mary as a model and source of inspiration for Ukrainian Canadian women. The Mother of God, a Ukrainian Orthodox priest told his followers,

> is the model for all mothers in all times. She shows them how to raise their children, sacrifice themselves for them, and remain by them even in the worst moments. Learn from Her, mothers, how to dedicate yourselves to your children. For God has given each of you a great and important task, and that is to bear and to rear children.[31]

But Mary also has another function. In art work as far apart as the wall paintings of prairie country churches and the mass-produced ceramic Madonna figurines of the 1980s, a modest row of Ukrainian embroidery trims her robes. In Nativity scenes in the nationalist press, she wears a Ukrainian folk costume, her sash has been transformed into a ceremonial Ukrainian rushnyk, the manger pillow is edged with Ukrainian designs, and mother and child are surrounded by such prominent Ukrainian symbols as the didukh, sunflower and onion-domed church.[32] A popular picture of the Assumption in the Ukrainian Catholic women's press makes the message clear: an appropriately Ukrainized Mary gazes down on two couples, representing the Ukrainian peasant and burgher classes, who kneel before a flag-flanked tryzub or trident, the major political symbol of the Ukrainian national movement and emblem of the ill-fated Ukrainian People's Republic, and pray for her intercession for their nation.[33] Mary, the Mother of God, is also Mary, the Mother of Ukraine.

Dating to the Christian princes of Kievan Rus' who placed their state under Mary's protection, the idea has been a persistent literary and political theme in Ukrainian history and in the twentieth century served frustrated nationalists as both a comfort and a tool.[34] As the Mother of Ukraine or the Madonna Ukrainized, Mary bears special significance for women. In the propaganda of nationalist Ukrainian Canadian women's organizations, she is an example of sacrifice and service for Ukrainian mothers. Like the grieving but proud mother beneath the Cross, knowing that her son suffered for a Great Idea, the kingdom of God on earth, so Ukrainian mothers, believing in the righteousness of their own great idea, the resurrection of the Ukrainian nation, must exhibit the same selflessness - and share not only Mary's sorrow but also her glory.[35]

Christian symbolism and analogy enjoyed little status among interwar Ukrainian Canadian progressives. Nor were supporters of the new

Soviet Ukrainian state as obsessed with national oppression and related issues, although like the nationalists they condemned the Polish, Czech and Romanian regimes in Western Ukraine. The women whom progressives chose as models and sources of inspiration reflected their identification with the proletariat worldwide and the communist experiment underway in the Soviet Union. Women's branches of the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association (ULFTA), for example, bore the names of such "great female revolutionaries" as Rosa Luxemburg, Aleksandra Kollontai and Klara Zetkin.[36] Articles on the often anonymous heroines of the class struggle throughout the world and on the heroines, both fictional and real, of the 1917 Revolution and its aftermath also undertook to uplift and motivate Ukrainian Canadian women.[37] Like their nationalist opponents, progressive women were expected to serve their cause as mothers and as public activists, and to subordinate themselves to the larger group to which they belonged. But unlike women in nationalist circles, even when Catholicism provided an international perspective comparable to communism, progressive women faced fewer demands as Ukrainians. And victory instead of defeat in 1917, with both national and sociopolitical objectives realized in Soviet Ukraine, tempered the urgency and altered the focus of those they did face.

The blame that interwar nationalist women assumed for the failure to establish a viable state in 1917-20 was mitigated by a view of Ukrainian history that absolved them of direct responsibility for their shortcomings while enhancing their self-esteem and providing models and inspiration from their own past. The picture of the position and role of women in the Ukrainian experience that resulted was simplistic and self-serving. By exaggerating the exceptional and selecting the evidence, it ignored fundamental questions of gender in an indisputably male-dominated society and the fact that the vast majority of women could not compete with the extraordinary minority. But exaggeration and selection offered a propagandistic weapon and psychological prop to the Ukrainian woman's descendants in Canada. History showed that Ukrainian women, conscious of their own worth, had identified with their people and its struggles; they had participated honourably in nation-building, performed great deeds and made great sacrifices. Ukrainian women in Canada inherited not only the right to be proud of their fore-mothers but also the obligation to follow their footsteps.[38]

The interpretation of Ukrainian history popularized by the inter-war nationalist elite and preserved among its successors holds that in periods when Ukrainians controlled their own destiny - notably under the Kievan princes and Cossacks - the position of women in the family and community reflected the egalitarianism toward which "natural" Ukrainian society inclined. Proponents point to the matriarchy believed to exist in ancient Ukrainian culture; to the property rights guaranteed women in the eleventh-century law code, *Rus'ka pravda*; to the common root for the words for wife (*druzhyna*) and friend (*druh*); and to the liberty and initiatives of both Kievan and Cossack women, particularly compared to their contemporaries in western Europe.[39] Such evidence of female status profits from the inconclusiveness of the sources for much of Ukrainian pre- and early history, especially life outside princely circles.[40] And concrete examples rely on outstanding individuals - warriors, powers behind the throne, rulers during a husband's absence or son's minority - without examining them as an aspect of class or as an accurate reflection of the lives of the great mass of ordinary women.

That such women owed their position to their male connections is likewise ignored; in neither Kievan Rus' nor the Cossack state, for example, did women rule in their own right.

The practice has been to project modern definitions of nationalism and national consciousness onto the thoughts and actions of famous Kievan and Cossack women. The same holds true of a last group of heroines, the great mass of mothers during Cossackdom who raised conscious Ukrainian patriots and freedom fighters.[41] Applying nationalist women's own explanation for the failure of the revolutionary years - too few mothers aware of their national responsibilities - their Cossack counterparts should have ensured Ukraine independence. But it has been easier to avoid troublesome issues. Moving quickly from "masters in our own house" to subjugation, a UWOC spokesperson both exonerated Ukrainian women for defaulting in the great test of the twentieth century and pardoned Ukrainians as a whole for the treatment of women in nineteenth-century Ukrainian peasant society. "Later," she wrote,

> the heroism of our women, so nobly demonstrated throughout the princedom and Cossack periods, was crushed into submission, and a period of slavery and general depression followed. This broke both the spirit and the national consciousness of the Ukrainian woman. The aggressors transformed her into a deaf and dumb slave. These conquerors knew that as long as the Ukrainian woman remained oppressed and degraded, they had nothing to fear. They knew that an enslaved woman could not rear her children to be good patriots who could be expected to fight for their nation.[42]

Thus, instead of the rights, equality and active role women had enjoyed in "natural" Ukrainian society, they were confined to the home, denied education and creatively smothered; and to enhance the masters' grip, Ukrainian men were encouraged to regard women as weak and inferior.[43] National oppression transformed Ukrainian women into victims. Dispensing with rulers and warriors, this perspective also exalts motherhood as woman's greatest function in national life, for on the quality of the Ukrainianness of mothers rested the fate of the nation.

Succeeding generations of apathetic and servile women boded ill for the future had not individuals, rejecting the submission of the masses and opportunism of those assimilating with the enemy, kept alive the ideas of freedom and struggle. The UWOC spokesperson continued:

> As a result of these conditions, there appeared noted poetesses, writers and organizers, who began to arouse the Ukrainian woman from her deep slumber in slavery, for they were aware of the fact that if this was allowed to continue the Ukrainian nation would perish. Although full of difficulties and obstacles, this vital work of the pioneers of our Ukrainian movement was very successful. At the commencement of hostilities during the Ukrainian nation's war of liberation, 1917-20, we see the Ukrainian mother trembling for the fate of her children; but realizing that the enslavement of her people is unbearable and that destruction is threatening them, she does not keep her sons at her side although she loves them so dearly. With heroic sacrifices she arms her sons, hides her emotions from them lest they too weaken, and sends them off to battle for freedom. In addition, many women themselves pick up arms and fight for the rebirth of the Ukrainian state. The rich fertile soil of Ukraine is strewn with the white bones of many heroic mothers.[44]

Defeat, therefore, had been due less to the weakness or absence of the dedicated than to the indifference and hostility of those who outnumbered them. In 1931 an angry veteran in Edmonton took exception to both a local speaker, who maintained that Ukrainians had no state because their women had failed as mothers and community activists, and to the women in the audience who applauded him. Women aware of Ukraine's many heroines, past and present, he insisted, would not so readily acquiesce in their denigration.[45]

The Great Ukrainian Women who were to act as models and sources of inspiration for interwar Ukrainian women in Canada were often faceless - the sacrificing mother, the unknown warrior, the unsung community worker[46] - but more frequently they were specific individuals. The prototype was the Kievan princess Olha - wife, ruler, mother and saint. She was joined, however, by lesser noble women of the period like Anna Iaroslavna, married to Henry I of France and acclaimed as the sole literate in the French court, an able regent and a patroness of Rus' culture.[47] Later figures also demonstrated the independent spirit and wide-ranging influence of Ukrainian women. In the fifteenth century, for example, Marta Boretska fought valiantly to defend Novgorod from the Muscovites; and in the sixteenth century, when the Crimean Tatar vassals of the Ottoman Empire made their living slavehunting in Ukraine, the slave Roxolana, as the favourite wife of Suleiman the Magnificent, rose to a position of power.[48] The rise of Cossackdom as a response to the Tatar challenge on the steppe frontier and Polish domination following the Union of Lublin in 1569 produced its own heroines in the effort to secure Ukrainian autonomy. They included Hanna, wife of Bohdan Khmelnytsky, who issued universals in the hetman's absence; Olena Zavisna, the wife of a Cossack captain, who inflicted great injury on her town's beseigers and chose death for herself and her children over capture by the Poles; and Maria Mahdalyna, the abbess and mother of Ivan Mazepa, who gave her hetman son wise counsel.[49] In the nineteenth century, "Great Women" came from the national renaissance and embryonic women's movement - figures like Olha Kobylianska, Natalia Kobrynska, Olena Pchilka and Lesia Ukrainka.[50] Their twentieth-century successors, reflecting the physical demands of nationbuilding, were martyrs like Sofia Halechko, ensign in the Ukrainian Sich Sharpshooters; Olha Basarab, intelligence courier in the Ukrainian Military Organization, murdered by the Poles in 1924; and Vira Babenko, liaison officer with the exiled government of the Ukrainian People's Republic, captured and killed by the Bolsheviks in 1921.[51]

Collectively, these women were the spiritual mothers and mentors of Ukrainian women in Canada. Subordinating their personal concerns to their nation, they had demonstrated commitment, idealism, and the willingness to endure arrest, torture and even death. As early as 1902 a Ukrainian immigrant in Lethbridge, appealing to the "Immaculate Virgin, Mother of the Ukrainian nation" for help and guidance, reminded his countrywomen in America that they held the fate of their nation in their hands. They could not be simply mindless childbearing machines and kitchen slaves but must - in the tradition of Olha, Boretska and brave Cossack women - leave a glorious legacy, raising their children as good Ukrainians and hastening the day of deliverance from Polish and Russian domination.[52]

Despite similarities in purpose and general outlook, factions in the nationalist community have frequently been able to share their heroines only by highlighting or suppressing different qualities. The same selectivity has permitted the progressive community also to share many of the same heroines before events of the twentieth century created two distinct and antagonistic streams. Progressives' use of Great Ukrainian Women has expressed not only their class consciousness but also their Ukrainianness, in ways parallel to yet incompatible with those of their nationalist adversaries as they disagreed over what was good for Ukraine. The progressives' pantheon of twentieth-century Ukrainian heroines includes the anonymous women of awakening consciousness, revolutionary fervour and toil for Soviet glory, whether in agriculture, industry, the Communist Party or war; wedding the sociopolitical with the national, they identify Ukrainian women in Canada as heirs to the struggles and achievements of the Soviet Ukrainian state.[53]

Because of her multiple roles, domestic and public, secular and religious, Princess Olha has offered something to everyone. Even the progressives, advancing a view of women in Ukrainian history akin to that of the nationalists, have taken her to illustrate the important role played by women in national political life before foreign domination denied them "the most elementary rights, even those few conceded to men."[54] Nationalist mythology, projecting modern concepts onto Kievan Rus', has made Olha purposefully Ukrainian, her public and religious roles and her roles as wife and mother/grandmother both reflecting and serving her Ukrainianness. As a devoted wife, she ministered to her family's happiness and counselled her husband wisely in matters of state; after avenging his murder at enemy hands, she governed justly and firmly during her son's minority; that son, Sviatoslav the Conqueror, extended his princedom; and her personal conversion to Christianity paved the way for the conversion of Rus' under the grandson, Volodymyr the Great, whom she raised in the faith that became a cornerstone of Ukrainian national identity. While to both Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox churches in Canada Olha is revered as a national saint (she and Volodymyr were canonized), to Ukrainian Canadian women she has been an inspiring example of one who effectively combined family and community duties in the national interest.[55]

In contrast, three other women - Kobrynska, Ukrainka and Basarab - have been examples of public activism alone. And only Kobrynska, the nationally-oriented socialist and feminist who spearheaded the Ukrainian women's movement in Galicia in 1884, has been identified specifically with women's issues. Interwar progressives dismissed her as a nationalist "society woman" indifferent to the plight of workers and peasants; with Kobrynska's changing fortunes in the Soviet Union, however, she has since become a democrat who "actively defended women's right to economic independence and equality with man in work and education." Tying Kobrynska's feminism to her socialism, contemporary progressives suggest that her ideas, familiar to the first female immigrants in Canada, propelled them into the progressive movement.[56] Outside progressive circles, Kobrynska's feminism has been tied to her nationalism. On the one hand, not only political and community rights but also educational and economic rights for women could be fully realized only in an independent Ukrainian state; on the other hand, national oppression required an "emancipated" or enlightened womanhood committed to the well-being and liberty of the Ukrainian people.[57] And just as the national consciousness and sacrifice of Ukrainian women in the liberation and resistance struggles of the twentieth century testified to the labours of pioneers like Kobrynska, "a true Ukrainian patriot," so Ukrainian women in Canada ought "to follow in her footsteps and work for the good of their people and fatherland."[58]

Kobrynska's co-worker in the women's movement, the writer Olena Pchilka, has been acclaimed as much for her domestic as her public role. Her "inspired motherhood"[59] gave Ukrainians their great poetess Lesia Ukrainka, whose works have been a catalyst to uncompromising struggle for freedom, truth and justice. Following the official Soviet line, progressives have stressed her social conscience and humanitarianism, casting her in a revolutionary role, while suppressing the nationalistic component of her works.[60] To nationalists, Ukrainka's message of the necessity to fight for the national idea, with her universal and non-Ukrainian themes unmistakable analogies for the subjugation and struggle of nineteenth-century Ukraine, have been both an inspiration and a challenge. On the twenty-fifth anniversary of her death, the UWOC wrote that her words inciting a captive people to insurrection should continue to spur men and women to make the ultimate sacrifice that Ukraine might be free.[61] Much later a UWAC spokesperson saw Ukrainka's legacy in less militant but equally Ukrainian terms:

> To love one's country, people and culture, to be courageous, to hope when there is no hope, are some of the mottoes expressed by Lesia Ukrainka, which if practiced by every Ukrainian woman, should assist us greatly in our striving for the independence of Ukraine.[62]

But Ukrainka, more than any other Ukrainian woman, has moved from being an example for her sex alone to become an all-Ukrainian national symbol,[63] proof that service to the cause overrides the gender of the servant.

In contrast, Ukrainka's spiritual daughter, Olha Basarab, has been predominantly a woman's model and source of inspiration although her death in 1924 sparked a widespread emotional outpouring among Ukrainians in the West. At least two newly-formed women's branches of the ULFTA bore Basarab's name[64] as progressives, opposed like the nationalists to Poland's control of Galicia, acknowledged her heroism. Both Catholic and Orthodox communities used her torture and death to protest Polish atrocities and rule in Galicia, and women in the two camps have acknowledged her as a national heroine and example of patriotism.[65] But it was to interwar immigrants that Basarab appealed most, particularly women's groups affiliated with veterans of the defeated republican armies. When these women provided the nucleus for the UWOC and it chose Basarab as its patroness, they left little doubt as to the difference between their nationalism and that of the UWAC, whose clubs were named after literary figures of the national renaissance. To the UWOC, Basarab was Ukraine's Joan of Arc, the paragon of national service and sacrifice whose ultimate commitment to the national idea and unfinished work imposed a sacred obligation on the living, in Ukraine and abroad.[66]

The importance of Ukrainian models and sources of inspiration to women in both nationalist and progressive communities has represented at once a common bond of Ukrainianness and a source of friction when the same figures were bent to conflicting ends. The membership in the Ukrainian nation that Ukrainian models and sources of inspiration stress has also united Ukrainian women in Canada, regardless of their specific orientation, with like-thinking Ukrainian women worldwide. Most importantly, it has united them with their countrywomen in the homeland. And although the incorporation of Western Ukraine by the Soviet sector after the Second World War deprived nationalists of most points of contact and identification, they continue to draw strength for their mission from opponents of the regime.[67]

Ukrainka was born and Basarab died in February. As organized women in nationalist circles marked their anniversaries, the month became identified with all Ukrainian heroines and was incorporated as such into the national-political rituals of formal community life. The heroines' ranks included the humble and anonymous as well as prominent individuals and were subsequently expanded to accommodate figures from the Second World War[68] and Soviet Ukrainian dissident movement. Besides duly recognizing the courage, sacrifice and vision of these women, speeches and editorials have stressed their lesson for their successors as women use the occasion not only to honour their sex publicly but also to rededicate themselves to the cause.

Numbered among the heroines have been Ukrainian mothers, from famous ones like Olena Pchilka to the nameless thousands whose children perished in Polish or Soviet prisons. So important were women as mothers that between the wars Ukrainians in Canada (and Galicia) adopted Mothers' Day for community observance. Mothers' Day propaganda, like its counterpart in mainstream society, has eulogized motherhood in the abstract and waxed eloquent over a mother's love and selflessness for her family. But Ukrainians have understood Ukrainian mothers to have a second family, their nation, and this led to the Ukrainization of the holiday. As the official organ of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church explained, its primary purpose was to remind Ukrainian mothers of their responsibilities, which began with raising their children as good Ukrainians.[69]

Not only has Mothers' Day literature advised Ukrainian mothers of their duty. It has also honoured the "Great Mothers" of their nation's past and present as examples for contemporary Ukrainian women. These were the women who had reared conscious Ukrainian patriots prepared to serve their nation and loving its language and traditions. They were the women who had sent their sons and daughters into battle, watched them suffer under foreign domination, and silently borne the pain of their sacrifice. They were the women who recognized their all-important task within the home, for a strong Ukrainian family was the core of a strong Ukraine. And they were the women who realized that they had to shoulder the additional burden of community service: "When the Ukrainian mother fails to interest herself in national work and be a member of her community," a UWAC editorial asked, "how can she be an example for her children?"[70]

The exploitation of mother symbolism ultimately identified women with their country. Single or childless women like Babenko and Basarab became mothers of Ukraine because of their sacrifice for their country, while Ukraine became mother to the orphans of her liberation struggles.[71] In an article in the Ukrainian Catholic *Kanadiiskyi ukrainets*, one of the leaders of the interwar Ukrainian women's movement in Galicia stressed the responsibility of Ukrainian mothers not only to their own families but also to their "Great Holy Mother" Ukraine, raising conscious sons and daughters in her service.[72] Ukrainian children, an Orthodox priest warned, had the same duty to love and revere Mother Ukraine as they did their own mothers and the Mother of God.[73] As the distinction among Ukrainian mothers, mothers of Ukraine and Mother Ukraine became blurred, it established the special and inescapable bond between Ukrainian women, by virtue of their common motherhood, and their nation. At the same time, the local women's groups named "Daughters of Ukraine" suggest that the nation was dominant in the relationship.

Ukrainian Canadian women have located the origins of Ukrainian esteem for the mother and the identification of Ukraine with the mother figure in the matriarchy thought to exist in ancient times.[74] But the most gratifying link between them, their role as Ukrainian mothers and Ukraine as the mother has been the poetry of Taras Shevchenko. Ukraine, Shevchenko says, is mother to both him and his people. That Ukrainians' greatest national symbol, whose genius captured and gave expression to his people's yearnings, equated Ukraine with a woman's/mother's suffering and strength has been important to Ukrainian women - intimately tying them to their nation, and facilitating the popular legitimization of a female perspective in Ukrainian history.

Shevchenko's favourite theme of the seduced peasant girl and unwed mother as the embodiment of cruelty, injustice and the suffering of the innocent has been perceived by Ukrainian Canadian nationalists and progressives alike as an indictment of women's oppression. Progressives, as do the Soviets, regard Shevchenko as a social revolutionary whose concerns for the common people were addressed to humanity in general and to the tsarist regime in particular; his role as a national revolutionary on behalf of the oppressed Ukrainian nation is downplayed.[75] Among nationalists, however, Shevchenko's wronged woman merges with Ukraine. Her rape, in progressive mythology the class crime of her landlord master, is attributed to Russian soldiers and landlords enjoying free license in Ukraine, and it has become a symbol for Ukraine's rape by Russia. Shevchenko's own experience, in which his loving and beloved mother was replaced by a cruel stepmother, became another analogy for Ukraine and tsarist (Soviet) Russia. The poet's admiration for the Ukrainian mother, particularly the inner strength, love and sacrifice that shone through her degradation and humiliation, places an obligation on subsequent generations of women to deserve his respect also.[76]

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The bias in the nationalist view of women's position and role in the Ukrainian experience was an inevitable product of the situation in which women found themselves. With their homeland under foreign domination, they sought not to motivate women on their own behalf by drawing attention to male-female tensions or inequality, but to unite Ukrainian women, together with men members of the Ukrainian nation, with their nation's interests and needs. The Ukrainian heroines who were to act as their models and sources of inspiration had demonstrated active, conscious and enlightened commitment to Ukraine, although their message was mixed. They combined the militant and activist with the maternal and traditionally feminine to define women's roles and responsibilities as Ukrainians. But even heroic wives and mothers - who raised conscious Ukrainian patriots to give to their nation, and who supported and prodded their husbands in the national cause - directed their femaleness to serving Ukraine and its needs. And not infrequently, "Great Women" transcended gender to become national figures whose life work was an example and inspiration not only to women but to all Ukrainians.

The cultivation of models and sources of inspiration has been an ongoing process closely connected to formal community ritual. The first systematically to exploit Great Ukrainian Women in this way, the interwar elite among Ukrainian women in Canada were also the first to be faced with translating their message into programs of action to mobilize and influence the masses. The women to be reached were both Ukrainian emigrants and Canadian immigrants, and, increasingly, they were Canadian born. The vehicle for all factions would be organization.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Iaroslav B. Rudnytskyi, "Kanadiiski heohrafichni nazvy ukrainskoho pokhodzhennia," in Propamiatna knyha Ukrainskoho narodnoho domu u Vynypegu, comp. Semen Kovbel and ed. Dmytro Doroshenko (Winnipeg 1949), 802.

[2] Dmytro Doroshenko, A Survey of Ukrainian History, ed. and updated by Oleh W. Gerus (Winnipeg 1975), 29-30.

[3] Having a definite body of law and tradition which set out women's roles has helped Jewish Canadian feminists both to identify specific targets for reform and to root their arguments for change in either the Law itself or historical precedent. See Norma Baumel Joseph, "Personal Reflections on Jewish Feminism," in The Canadian Jewish Mosaic, ed. M. Weinfeld, W. Shaffir and I. Cotler (Toronto 1981), 205-19.

[4] James T.M. Anderson, The Education of the New-Canadian: A Treatise on Canada's Greatest Educational Problem (Toronto and London 1918), 211.

[5] In one piece, a beloved Anglo-Canadian teacher who had taught her Ukrainian pupils to sew "Canadian" dresses was forced by illness to resign; in the plea of the girls for a replacement "to teach us to be Eengleesh and make Canadian tings" the message to the author's Anglo-Canadian readers is clear. "A Message," in fact, was the title of the short story published anonymously in the Woman's Christian Temperance Union collection, Canadian National Prize Medal Contest Book (N.p., n.d.), 39-42. The ultimate success story was Annie Korzak, a missionary-raised orphan who became a nurse and married a Scottish farmer; see Frank Yeigh, "New Canadians Making Good," Canadian Magazine 59, no. 3 (Jl 1922): 231-2.

[6] They were also prepared to enlist the aid of the state. In 1913, the Woman's Canadian Club of Calgary, for example, requested the Alberta government to establish residential schools to teach Ukrainian girls domestic science and to prohibit their marriage before age seventeen; see Minutes, Woman's Canadian Club of Calgary, Glenbow-Alberta Institute, Calgary, 15 S 1913.

[7] Robert England, The Central European Immigrant in Canada (Toronto 1929), 146. See also Anderson, Education of the New-Canadian, 143-50; Elsie M. Bishop, "Some Teacher Experiences " (n.d.), William Martin Papers, 19425-31, Saskatchewan Archives Board, Saskatoon; Miriam Elston,

"Ruthenians in Western Canada: School Teaching Amongst the Russians," Onward (19 Ap 1919): n.p.; and Mabel E. Finch, "Christmas in a New Canadian School," Grain Growers' Guide (8 D 1920): 66-7.

[8] P. Code, "Everyday Life at Kolokreeka, Alberta," Missionary Outlook (Ja 1914): 16.

[9] See Vegreville Observer (14 Mr 1919).

[10] Comments attributed by J.H. Hall, "Sifton School Home," Missionary Messenger (Ap 1919): 12. In Methodist propaganda, the Ruthenian Girls' Home in Edmonton emerged as a sanctuary for Ukrainian girls escaping unbearable conditions. See, for example, Nellie L. McClung, The Stream Runs Fast: My Own Story (Toronto 1945), 167-9; and W.H. Pike, Ruthenian Home, Edmonton, Alta. (Toronto n.d.).

[11] M.J. Sproule, "On a Russian Trail," Edmonton Journal (22 D 1914): 5.

[12] This is the image of the rural school home missionaries that emerges in the short story, "Summer of '38," in Gloria Kupchenko Frolick, The Green Tomato Years (Toronto 1985), 37-67. For a comparable assessment of Anglo-Canadian women teaching Ukrainian girls in North End Winnipeg, see the manuscripts of Vera Lysenko, particularly her autobiographical novel, "The Torch" (Vera Lysenko Papers, vol. 1, file 14, National Archives of Canada, Ottawa).

[13] Letter, Thoughtful Farmer, Ethelbert, "Pid rozvahu nashym rodycham," Kanadyiskyi rusyn (17 Jl 1918): 8; see also letter, Vasyl Kokotailo, Edmonton, Kanadyiskyi rusyn (4 Ja 1913): 6-7.

[14] See, for example, Woman's Canadian Club of Calgary, Year Book 1913 (Calgary 1913), 9; Alberta Club Woman's Blue Book (Calgary 1917), 8; and Nellie McClung to Robert Borden, cited in Howard Palmer, Patterns of Prejudice: A History of Nativism in Alberta (Toronto 1982), 44.

[15] This statement requires qualification. Coverage of the early twentieth-century women's suffrage movement, for example, was sometimes used to plea for better education among Ukrainians of both sexes; see "Borotba zhinok pani Pankhurst," Ukrainskyi holos (20 D 1911): 2. Ukrainian Canadians have always acknowledged Anglo-Canadians who appreciated their culture and national aspirations; see Pavlo Krat, "Pani Laivsei pryiatelka ukrainskoho naroda," Ranok (24 My 1916): 3. It was only during the Second World War that the women's pages of the Ukrainian press seriously began to feature important or heroic Canadian women as part of their support of the war effort.

[16] "Slovo hospodyniam," Ukrainskyi holos (6 Jl 1910): 6; Ukrainian Woman, "Divchata prosvishchaites," Ukrainskyi holos (8 S 1915): 6; "Otvorenie shpytaliu v Etelbert," Ranok (5 Ja 1916): 2; "Vid ukr. zhinochoho prosv. tov. u Vinnipegu," Kanadiiskyi farmer (14 S 1917): 1; letter, Paraska Ogryzlo, Sifton, "Trymaimosia svoho," Ukrainskyi holos (5 Je 1912): 4; and, for a later period, D.E. Iandova, "Poshana materi,"

Ukrainskyi holos (9 My 1934): 11.

[17] N. Tymtsiv, "Stvorennia zhin. viddilu [USH] im. O. Besarabovoi," Novyi shliakh (25 Oc 1932): 7; Teofilia Ivantsiv, "Zhinotstvo i ukr. nationalizm," Novyi shliakh (12 F 1935): 3; Anastaziia Pavlychenko, "Borotba natsionalnykh idei i ukrainske zhinotstvo Kanady," Novyi shliakh (21 My 1935): 6; Anna Kremar, "Vyzvolni zmahannia i zavdannia ukrainskoho zhinotstva," Novyi shliakh (4 Je 1935): 6; Mariia Huliai, "Svitovyi rukh i nashe zhinotstvo," Novyi shliakh (10 N 1936): 6; and Ivanna Putsentelo, "Zhinka v ukrainskomu natsionalno-politychnomu zhytti," Novyi shliakh (21 D 1937): 6.

[18] Stefaniia Abrahamovska, "Ukrainska zhinka v publychnim i rodynnim zhytiu," Ukrainskyi holos (16 Jl 1919): 16; and Natalia B., "Do ukrainskoho zhinotstva," Ukrainskyi holos (19 N 1919): 3. See also Savelia Stechyshyn, "Zhinka, a buduchnist Ukrainy," Ukrainskyi holos (6 Ja 1926): 4; and D. Iandova, "Zhinka i vyzvolna borotba," Ukrainskyi holos (26 F 1930): 11, which blame women's lack of enlightenment and consciousness for Ukrainians' weakness in their revolutionary struggles.

[19] I. Zvarych, "Pershi orhanizatsiini zhinochi zbory," Novyi shliakh (3 My 1932): 7; Anastaziia Pavlychenko, "Natsionalistychnyi rukh sered ukrainskoho zhinotstva," Novyi shliakh (11 D 1934): 4; Teofilia Ivantsiv, "Zavdannia zhinky-natsionalistky," Novyi shliakh (13 Ag 1935): 6; and Stepaniia Bubniuk, "Na perehodni vazhnykh svitovykh podii i uchast zhinky u nykh," Novyi shliakh (15 Oc 1935): 5.

[20] On the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, which rejected compromise with Ukraine's masters and waged a violent underground struggle in Galicia against Polish occupation, see Alexander Motyl, The Turn to the Right: The Ideological Origins and Development of Ukrainian Nationalism (Boulder, Col. 1980), especially 153-61.

[21] Anna Basaraba, "Robim dalshi kroky na shliakhu orhanizuvannia ukr. nats. zhinotstva," Novyi shliakh (27 Je 1933): 2.

[22] I. Svityk, "Rolia ukrainskoi materi u vykhovanniu ditei," Novyi shliakh (8 Ja 1931): 3; Stepaniia Bubniuk, "Zavdannia Orhanizatsii ukrainok Kanady im. O. Basarabovoi," Novyi shliakh (19 F 1935): 5; "Iak nimetski materi vykhovuiut svoikh ditei," Novyi shliakh (13 Oc 1936): 6; "Zhinka v rozuminni italiiskoho fashyzmu," Novyi shliakh (3 N 1936): 6; and A. Mykhailovska, "Budmo hotovi!" Novyi shliakh (26 D 1938): 3.

[23] Claudia Koonz, "Mothers in the Fatherland: Women in Nazi Germany," in Becoming Visible: Women in European History, ed. Renate Bridenthal and Claudia Koonz (Boston 1977), 445-73.

[24] See the following works by Ruth Roach Pierson: "Women's Emancipation and the Recruitment of Women into the Labour Force in World War II," in The Neglected Majority: Essays in Canadian Women's History, ed. Susan Mann Trofimenkoff and Alison Prentice (Toronto 1977), 125-45; Canadian Women and The Second World War (Ottawa 1983); and "They're Still Women After All": The Second World War and Canadian Womanhood

(Toronto 1986), written with Marjorie Cohen.

[25] R. Kovalska, "Rolia zhinotstva v riznykh chasakh," *Novyi shliakh* (1 D 1936): 6. As models for Ukrainian women as their nation struggled for statehood, Kovalska chose women from French, Italian and German history. She distinguished, however, between their past roles during crisis and the present: Italian women under fascism had abjured the need for the vote, French women were the most pampered in the world, and German women were devoted to the kitchen, their children and the church.

[26] The Ukrainian Women's Organization of Canada had its own roots in women's groups affiliated with the Ukrainian War Veterans' Association.

[27] In 1675 she saved Pochaiv from the Turks. O.C.B., "Pochaiv," *Nasha doroha* 18, no. 2 (Ap-Je 1987): 22.

[28] See Iryna Varenytsia, "Meta i zavdannia Ligy ukrainskykh katolytskykh zhinok Kanady," *Nasha doroha* 12, no. 1 (Ja-Mr 1981): 10-1.

[29] This is the tenor, for example, of A.Sh., "Suspilna pratsia ukrainskoi zhenshchyny," *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* (10 Oc 1917): 7. The Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate have since their beginnings in Canada been involved in charitable works, especially the operation of orphanages, hospitals and senior citizens' homes. See Claudia Helen Popowich, *To Serve Is To Love: The Canadian Story of the Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate* (Toronto 1971); and, on the order's pioneer work specifically, *Propamiatna knyha z nahody zolotoho iuvileiu poselennia ukrainskoho narodu v Kanadi, 1891-1941* (Yorkton 1941), 73-7, 81-3.

[30] See, for example, "Ukrainky Kanady do dila!" *Kanadiiskyi ukrainets* (15 Ag 1923): 3-4, especially the speech by Kateryna Novytska, "My ie i khochemo buty ukraintsiamy i katolykamy"; Ios. Ianitskyi, "Materynska liubov," *Kanadiiskyi ukrainets* (12 N 1924): 6; P. Oleskiv, "Maty," *Kanadiiskyi ukrainets* (24 Ja 1929): 5 and (31 Ja 1929): 5; and "Vesniana kvitka ukrainskym divchatam," *Kanadiiskyi ukrainets* (12 Je 1929): 4.

[31] Ie.H., "U Den materi," *Visnyk* (1 My 1938): 6-7. See also "Robota velykykh khrystiianskykh zhinok," *Visnyk* (15 Ja 1940): 4; and from the Ukrainian Protestant camp, "Khrystiianskyi pohliad na rodynu," *Kanadiiskyi ranok* (17 My 1921): 3.

[32] A sheaf of wheat symbolizing the souls of departed ancestors that is brought into the house on Christmas Eve, the *didukh* was traditionally burned in the field on New Year's Eve, returning the souls to the soil. *Rushnyky* or embroidered towels have ceremonial significance, being used, for example, to drape holy pictures and in betrothal.

[33] See *Nasha doroha* in the 1970s and 1980s.

[34] For early immigrant use of the idea, see, for example, M. Olenchuk, "Nauka o Neporochnim zachattiu Prch. Divy Marii," *Kanadiiskyi ukrainets* (19 D 1923): 3; and Iosyf Ianitskyi, "Materynska liubov," *Kanadiiskyi ukrainets* (12 N 1924): 6. "Try materi," *Nasha doroha* 9, no.

3 (Jl-S 1978): 1-2; and "Bozha Maty, Nash Pokrov," *Nasha doroha* 12, no. 2 (Oc-D 1981): 1-2, are contemporary examples.

[35] See, for example, Emiliia Pohoretska, "Z Voskresenniam Khrystovym," *Novyi shliakh* (23 Ap 1935): 5; Kateryna Novytska, "My ie i khochemo buty ukraintsiamy i katolykamy," *Kanadiiskyi ukrainets* (15 Ap 1923): 3-4; Oleksandra Myndiuk, "Den materi," *Nasha doroha* 2, no. 2 (Ap-Je 1971): 57-8; and Oleksandra Myndiuk, "U Den materi," *Nasha doroha* 15, no. 2 (Ap-Je 1984): 2.

[36] For feature articles, see, for example, "Roza Liuksemburg, 1870-1919," *Holos robitnytsi* 1, nos. 1-2 (Ja-F 1923): 9-11; "Kliara Tsetkin," *Holos robitnytsi* 1, no. 3 (Mr 1923): 10-2; "Pamiati Karla Libknekhta i Rozy Liuksemburg," *Robitnytsia* 12, no. 2 (15 Ja 1935): 2-4; "Nezabutni muchennyky," *Robitnytsia* 2, no. 2 (15 Ja 1925): 3-4; and letter, London, *Robitnytsia* 7, no. 7 (1 Ap 1930): 25, concerning Zetkin's command to women to participate actively in the class struggle. Unlike nationalist women's organizations, who chose only women as their patronesses, the women's branches of the ULFTA were frequently named after men in the revolutionary movement.

[37] See, for example, V. Boroda, "Zhenshchyna-robitnytsia v Nimechchyni," *Holos robitnytsi* 1, no. 4 (Ap 1923): 1-2; "Heroini kytaiskykh rad," *Robitnytsia* 13, no. 7 (1 Ap 1936): 10; Vasylyna Aleksiievych, "Pro polozhennia trudiashchykh zhinok na farmakh," *Robitnytsia* 14, no. 13 (1 Jl 1937): 2-3, which evokes the example of Spanish women in the Civil War to motivate Ukrainian farm women in Canada; "Ruku tovaryshtsi!" *Robitnytsia* 1, no. 12 (1 S 1924): 1-2; "Nova zhinka," *Robitnytsia* 2, no. 16 (15 Ag 1925): 1-2, which stresses the example of the new Soviet woman to women throughout the world; N. Liutneva, "Zhinka v ukrainskii literaturi," *Robitnytsia* 5, no. 15 (1 Ag 1928): 466-8; A. Semenov, "Berimo pryklad z komunistiv," *Robitnytsia* 11, no. 24 (15 D 1934): 4-5; and "Znatni zhinky Radianskoi Ukrainy," *Robitnytsia* 12, no. 23 (1 D 1935): 13-5.

[38] From the UWOC press, see the following: Stepaniia Bubniuk, "Zavdannia Orhanizatsii ukrainok Kanady im. O. Basarabovoi," *Novyi shliakh* (19 F 1935): 5; Anna Kramar, "Vyzvolni zmahannia i zavdannia ukrainskoho zhinotstva," *Novyi shliakh* (4 Je 1935): 6; R. Kovalska, "Heroizm ukrainskoi zhinky," *Novyi shliakh* (3 Mr 1936): 5; and "Na perekhrestiakh istorii," *Novyi shliakh* (29 D 1936): 6 (reprinted from *Zhinka*). Between the wars, the women's pages in both *Novyi shliakh* and *Ukrainskyi holos* featured famous women from Ukrainian history.

[39] For a recent expression, see Savelia Stechyshyn, "Ukrainska zhinka v mynulomu i suchasnomu," *Promin* 17, no. 2 (F 1976): 3-6. A favourite example of "natural" egalitarianism in Ukrainian society, used repeatedly by Stechishin, is the equality granted women under the Ukrainian People's Republic: see her "Zhinochyi rukh na Ukraini," *Ukrainskyi holos* (19 Ja 1927): 4 and "Ukrainska zhinka u vyzvolnii borotby," *Ukrainskyi holos* (24 Ja 1934): 11. See also, from a later period, Iryna Pavlykovska, "90-littia ukrainskoho zhinochoho rukhu," *Nasha doroha* 6, no. 3 (Jl-S 1975): 4-5.

[40] In her Feminists Despite Themselves: Women in Ukrainian Community life, 1884-1939 (Edmonton 1988), 3-8, Martha Bohachevsky-Chomiak accepts the view that Ukrainian women historically enjoyed considerable rights and liberties, but she does not attempt an analysis of their position in Ukrainian society prior to the nineteenth century. See also Nataliia Polonska-Vasylenko, Vydatni zhinky Ukrainy (Winnipeg 1969), which focuses on the outstanding women of Ukrainian history.

[41] See the many articles cited in this chapter for examples of the projection of modern Ukrainian nationalist sentiments onto Kievan and Cossack women.

[42] Stephanie Sawchuk, "Our Women in Ukrainian and Canadian Life," in Ukrainian Canadian Committee, First All-Canadian Congress of Ukrainians in Canada (Winnipeg 1943), 162.

[43] See, for example, Teofilia Ivantsiv, "Zhinotstvo i ukr. nationalizm," Novyi shliakh (12 F 1935): 3; I. Putsentelo, "Rolia i stanovyshche ukrainskoi zhinky v suspilno-politychnomu zhytti," Novyi shliakh (31 Mr 1936): 6; Ivanna Putsentelo, "Zhinka v ukrainskomu natsionalno-politychnomu zhytti," Novyi shliakh (21 D 1937): 6; and from a later period, Savelia Stechyshyn, "Ukrainska zhinka v mynulomu i suchasnomu," Promin 17, no. 2 (F 1976): 3-6. Halychanka, "Zhinka i ii znachinie v suspilnim zhytiu," Kanadiiskyi farmer (8 F 1918): 5 and (15 F 1918): 5, takes the view that women were not as lost as men under foreign domination, however, because they were less addicted to alcohol.

[44] Sawchuk, "Our Women in Ukrainian and Canadian Life," 162.

[45] O. Kramar, "Chy spravdi nasha zhinka ne brala uchasty u vyzvolnii borotby?" Novyi shliakh (13 Ag 1931): 4. For a later discussion of women during the revolutionary years, by a post-1945 immigrant herself described by the UWAC (which she joined) as one of the Revolution's heroines, see Mariia Volosevych, "Ukrainski zhinky-heroin," Promin 8, no. 10 (Oc 1967): 5-7 and 7, no. 11 (N 1967): 18-21. Her article illustrates both the continuity of ideas and their similarity among Ukrainian women from both sides of the ocean.

[46] For a contemporary tribute to the strength and contribution of the ordinary peasant woman during the recent war and in the continuing struggle for control of Galicia, see V. Merenkiv, "Shcho ia chuv i bachyv v kraiu," Kanadiiskyi ukrainets (17 N 1920): 3; the priest had been sent to Western Ukraine by an American Ukrainian organization.

[47] Specifically on Anna, see, for example, Iu. Kolesnychenko, "Anna Iaroslavna - koroleva Frantsii," Promin 12, no. 10 (Oc 1971): 12-3.

[48] Specifically on Roxolana, see, for example, the reprint from Zhinka, "Na perekhrestiakh istorii," in Novyi shliakh (29 D 1936): 6, which stresses her example - for women in bondage or outside their native land - not to be traitors. In the progressive camp, Peter Krawchuk, "Ukrainian Women in Early History," Ukrainian Canadian (Mr 1972): 14, credits Roxolana with freeing many Cossacks from Turkish slavery.

[49] In O.H. Hykavyi, "Budmo dobrymy patriotamy," Narodnyi iliustrovanyi kaliendar Kanadiiskoho farmera (Winnipeg 1923) Zavisna is used to illustrate heroism among Ukrainian women but she is not identified as a specifically female model and source of inspiration. In "Starokraievi visty: Zhinochi organizatsii," Kanadyiskyi rusyn (7 F 1917): 3, Olena Stepanivna (herself to die for her country) is quoted as evoking the image of Zavisna to appeal to young women in Galicia to revive their tradition of activism and participate in Ukrainian national-political life. On Mazepa's mother, see Olenka Negrych, "Great Mothers," Promin 6, no. 5 (My 1965): 15-6. The mothers of great men, from Alexander the Great to Napoleon and Mozart, have always been extolled as women worth emulating; see, for example, Halia Hultai, "Do vas, zhinky," Novyi shliakh (17 My 1932): 6; and Halia Havryliuk, "Nashe zhinotstvo ta ioho osvita," Novyi shliakh (5 S 1933): 5. The Canadianization of this theme can be seen in a later UWAC Mothers' Day editorial, "Velyki materi," Promin 21, no. 5 (My 1980): 1-2, when Mackenzie King's mother, described as "the great mother of a great man," was praised for her influence on her son.

[50] Annual salutes on their anniversaries are customary in the nationalist women's press.

[51] Many of the following articles begin with Princess Olha, include the traditional historical "Great Women," and conclude with the heroines of the time of writing, indicating the unity and continuity in the perception of Ukrainian female role models and sources of inspiration: G.K. Spenser, "Ukrainski zhenshchyny v borotbi za vyzvolenie Ukrainy," Kanadyiskyi rusyn (9 Ja 1918): 2; "Vykhovannia molodi," Ukrainskyi holos (27 N 1929): 3; Osyp Kramar, "Zhinka v borotbi za ridnu zemliu i derzhavu," Ukrainskyi holos (10 Je 1931): 9; S. Savka, "Zavdannia ukrainky," Ukrainskyi holos (19 Ap 1933): 11; Anastaziia Pavlychenko, "Natsionalistychnyi rukh sered ukrainskoho zhinotstva," Novyi shliakh (11 D 1934): 4; Stepaniia Bubniuk, "V richnytsiu heroiskoi smerty," Novyi shliakh (29 S 1936): 8; M. Ruryk, "Ukrainske zhinotstvo u zbroinii borotby," Novyi shliakh (30 N 1937): 8; Stefaniia Paush, "Vyznachni zhinky Ukrainy," Promin 2, no. 2 (F 1961): 14-5; and Hanna Ianishevska, "Poklin ukrainskii zhintsi," Promin 16, no. 5 (My 1975): 4-8.

[52] Letter, Vasyl Simak, Svoboda (16 Oc 1902): 3.

[53] On direct ties between the Women's Section of the ULFTA and Soviet Ukraine, see, for example, Ivan Tkachuk, "Hordist ukrainskoho pratsiuiuchoho zhinotstva," Robitnytsia 3, no. 9 (1 My 1926): 5-6, an article by a Soviet author designed to enrol Ukrainian Canadian women in revolutionary ranks; Refugee, "Shkola i uchytelka," Robitnytsia 3, no. 22 (15 N 1926): 2-4; L. Piontek, "Shcho pyshut pro nas na Radianskii Ukraini," Robitnytsia 4, no. 11 (1 Je 1927): 329-30; M. Popovych, "Ikh zahartuvala borotba za khlib, voliu i myr," Robitnytsia 17, no. 5 (1 Mr 1937): 1-2, 8; and A. Ivaniuk, "Pyshut chlenkyni zhinochoi sektsii," Robitnytsia 17, no. 8 (15 Ap 1937): 20-1. The Women's Section also maintained ties with communist sympathizers in Galicia, in a relationship where it was perceived as the model and source of inspiration: see, for example, "'Robitnytsia' v Halychyni," Robitnytsia 3, no. 13

(1 Jl 1926): 1-2; "Do sester i brativ za shyrokym okeanom," *Robitnytsia* 4, no. 4 (15 F 1927): 100-1; and "Z rukhu pratsiuiuchoho zhinotstva na Zakhidnii Ukraini" and N.V., "Nevolia halytskoi pratsiuiuchoi zhinky," *Robitnytsia* 4, no. 20 (15 Oc 1927): 612-3.

[54] Krawchuk, "Ukrainian Women in Early History," 14-5.

[55] See, for example, Stepaniia Bubniuk, "Zavdannia Orhanizatsii ukrainok Kanady im. O. Basarabovoi," *Novyi shliakh* (19 F 1935): 6; M.K., "Kniahynia Olha," *Novyi shliakh* (24 Jl 1941): 7; Olenka Negrych, "The Star of Kievan-Rus," *Promin* 1, no. 7 (Jl 1960): 17-8; Olesia Kernisky, "The One Thousandth Year Anniversary of Princess Olha," *Promin* 9, no. 7 (Jl 1969): 15 (also the special anniversary editorial); Oleksandra Kopach, "Slidamy sv. Olhy," *Nasha doroha* 1, no. 1 (Ja-Mr 1970): 17-8; H.H.S., "Vshanuvannia pamiati sv. kniahyni Olhy," *Promin* 11, no. 2 (F 1970): 20; "Pered maiestatom dukhovoho portretu," *Promin* 12, no. 7 (Jl 1971): 1-4; O.I. Shevtsiv, "Rivnoapostolska kniahynia," *Nasha doroha* 10, no. 3 (Jl-S 1979): 1-2; and Ievhen Dachyshyn, "Sviata kniahynia Olha," *Nasha doroha* 12, no. 3 (Jl-S 1981): 1-2. 1969 marked the millenium of Olha's death and sparked a flurry of articles and memorial concerts by local women's organizations; her saint's day is observed on 11/24 July.

[56] Krawchuk, "Ukrainian Women in Early History," 16-7; the first female immigrants to whom Krawchuk refers he identifies as the women pioneers of the progressive movement, making them and their descendants Kobrynska's spiritual heirs. For the critical interwar attitude toward Kobrynska in progressive circles, see "Na iaki temy pro zhinok pyshut ukrainski fashystky," *Robitnytsia* 11, no. 18 (15 S 1934): 9-10; the article insists that working women recognize Rosa Luxemburg as their leader.

[57] On Kobrynska in nationalist circles, see, for example, "Nataliia Kobrynska," *Ukrainskyi holos* (23 Ja 1929): 11; Savelia Stechyshyn, "Natalia Kobrynska i zhinochyi rukh," *Ukrainskyi holos* (25 F 1931): 11, which focuses more on her feminism than her nationalism; Maria Oryschuk, "Women's Rights and Women Journalists," *Promin* 5, no. 6 (Je 1964): 15-6; Iryna Pavlykovska, "90-littia ukrainskoho zhinochoho rukhu," *Nasha doroha* 6, no. 3 (Jl-S 1975): 4-5; Leonida Vertyporokh, "Nataliia Kobrynska: Pysmennytsia i pionerka ukrainskoho zhinochoho rukhu," *Nasha doroha* 6, no. 3 (Jl-S 1975): 6-7; and Vira Buchynska, "U 100-richchia ukrainskoho zhinochoho rukhu," *Nasha doroha* 15, no. 3 (Jl-S 1984): 1-2.

[58] A. Shestovska, "V chest Natali Kobrynskoi," *Novyi shliakh* (24 Ap 1939): 4; for a virtual repetition of these sentiments, over thirty years later by a woman within UCWL circles, see Olha Duchyminska, "Zhinochyi rukh v Zakhidnii Ukraini," *Nasha doroha* 4, no. 3 (My-Je 1973): 7.

[59] See, for example, two articles representing different periods and outlooks yet sharing the same opinion concerning Pchilka's outstanding achievement as a Ukrainian mother: "Olena Pchilka - zoria ukrainskoho natsionalizmu," *Novyi shliakh* (21 Ap 1936): 5; and Lydia Burachynska,

"Olena Pchilka," *Nasha doroha* 6, no. 4 (Oc-D 1975): 23-4.

[60] In progressive circles, Pchilka is also commended for her maternal achievement in raising her famous daughter. On Pchilka and Ukrainka in the interwar progressive women's press, see, for example, S. Pylypenko, "Ukrainski zhinky-pysmennytsi," *Robitnytsia* 2. no. 2 (15 Ja 1925): 13-4; Mykh. Bykovets, "Zhinocha dolia," *Robitnytsia* 7, no. 5 (1 Mr 1930): 13-4; and "Lesia Ukrainka," *Robitnytsia* 14, no. 4 (15 F 1937): 29-30. In none of the articles is Ukrainka specifically suggested as a model for women.

[61] See M. Musii, "Predtecha natsionalizmu," and Ivanna Putsentelo, "Lesia Ukrainka," *Novyi shliakh* (22 F 1938): 11. To the UWOC, conscious national commitment among Ukrainian women, together with recognition of their national responsibilities, began with women like Ukrainka, distinguishing them from earlier heroines like Olha who inherited their positions: see Anastaziia Pavlychenko, "Natsionalistychnyi rukh sered ukrainskoho zhinotstva," *Novyi shliakh* (11 D 1934): 4.

[62] Olenka Negrych, "Lesia Ukrainka," *Promin* 1, no. 2 (F 1960): 13. See also the editor's note to Antonina Horokhovych, "Lesia Ukrainka," *Promin* 14, no. 2 (F 1973): 3-6, describing the poetess as "a symbol of the national idea" whose "great faith in the victory of our national righteousness" was a motivation for Ukrainians in the present" (3); and two UCWL articles: Vira Buchynska, "Pro Lesiu Ukrainky," *Nasha doroha* 7, no. 1 (Ja-Mr 1976): 4; and Olha Ilnytska, "Viddil LUKZhK u Vankuveri, B.K.," *Nasha doroha* 12, no. 4 (Oc-D 1981): 15, which also stress the power and influence of her works for subsequent generations, including Ukrainians across the ocean.

[63] Ukrainka's official obituary by M.H. [Mykhailo Hrushevsky] in the Galician daily, *Dilo*, reprinted in *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* (6 S 1913): 2, attaches little significance to her as a woman as it pays tribute to the Ukrainian patriot and poet. For a later male perspective, in which Ukrainka's nationalism and uncompromising struggle were an example not only for Ukrainians but for anyone who loved his or her country, people and culture, see Leonid Biletskyi, "Poetychna tvorchist Lesi Ukrainky," *Promin* 1. no. 2 (F 1960): 4.

[64] They were both in Alberta, in Medicine Hat and the small rural community of Fedorah, on the western fringes of the large Ukrainian bloc settlement; see *Robitnytsia* 1, no. 7 (15 Je 1924) and 1, nos. 9-10 (15 Jl-1 Ag 1924).

[65] See, for example, "Do blahorodnoho ukrainskoho zhinotstva v Amerytsi," *Kanadiiskyi ukrainets* (19 Mr 1924): 4; "Chyzhnytsi v oboroni chesty bl. p. Olhy Besarabovoi," *Kanadiiskyi ukrainets* (30 Ap 1924): 4; letter, Attending Greek Catholic, Ethelbert, *Kanadiiskyi ukrainets* (16 Jl 1924): 5; "Olha z Levytskykh Besarabova," *Ukrainskyi holos* (26 Mr 1924): 4; and "Martyrs for Ukraine's Freedom," *Promin* 1, no. 2 (F 1960): 14-5.

[66] See, for example, N. Tymtsiv, "Stvorennia zhin. viddilu im. O.

Besarabovoi (Sudbury)," Novyi shliakh (25 Oc 1932): 7, particularly the speech by Olha Zaitsev; and Darusia Korol, "Nashi zavdannia pid tsiu poru," Novyi shliakh (20 Mr 1941): 7. References to Basarab and her legacy abound on the UWOC page in Novyi shliakh, official organ of the Ukrainian National Federation, and in the UWOC magazine, Zhinochyi svit; see the February issues in particular.

[67] They include noted female dissidents, the wives of Soviet Ukrainian political prisoners, and the nameless (especially the five hundred women mowed down by Soviet tanks in 1954 for protesting the treatment of camp inmates). See, for example, Vira Buchynska, "Piatsot heroin," Nasha doroha 6, no. 1 (Ja-F 1975): 7-8, which appeals to Ukrainian women in Canada to emulate the courage of the five hundred to protect what their forefathers had built in Canada; "Ukrainian Women Political Prisoners," Nasha doroha 6, no. 3 (Jl-S 1975): 16-8, using International Women's Year to draw attention to their plight; "Alla Horska," Nasha doroha 7, no. 1 (Ja-Mr 1976): 20-1; Roman Rakhmanny, "Wives of Soviet Dissidents Lead Difficult Lives," Promin 13, no. 1 (Ja 1972): 15-6; Lesia Udod, "Na sviato heroin," Promin 13, no. 6 (Je 1972): 9-10; and M. Kostenko, "Svitlychna Visits Winnipeg," Promin 20, no. 5 (My 1979): 18-9, on the impact of meeting one particular former political prisoner.

[68] The Second World War provided Ukrainian women with another February martyr. In 1942, the poet and activist, Olena Teliha, was arrested and tortured to death by Nazi authorities in Kiev, eliciting, as the story goes, reluctant praise from her tormentors for her bravery. See, for example, "Olena Teliha," Promin 4, no. 2 (F 1963): 3-4; and Ukrainian Canadian Women's Committee, "Olena Teliha," Promin 19, no. 2 (F 1978): 4-5.

[69] M., "Den materi," Visnyk (1 Je 1943): 3; and S.V.S., "Den materi," Visnyk (1 My 1933): 3. Interwar progressives criticized the western bourgeois custom of Mothers' Day, when thousands of working mothers suffered under capitalist exploitation, and insisted that mothers were truly honoured only in the Soviet Union; see, for example, "'Den materi'," Robitnytsia 8, no. 10 (15 My 1931): 7-8.

[70] "Velyki materi," Promin 21, no. 5 (My 1980): 1-2. The following constitute only a small selection of the inspirational Mothers' Day articles in the nationalist women's press: Anastaziia Ruryk, "Sviato materi v Saskatyni," Ukrainskyi holos (20 Je 1928): 11; O. Kysilevska, "Sviato matery," Kanadiiskyi ukrainets (8 My 1929): 4, on the observance of the first Mothers' Day in Galicia; "Maty Lesi Ukrainky," Ukrainskyi holos (20 F 1929): 11; Parania Smytsniuk, "I mii poklin dlia materei," Ukrainskyi holos (24 My 1933): 11; Anna Kramar, "Ukrainska zhinka v borotbi za vyzvolennia natsii," Novyi shliakh (1 F 1938): 6; Ievheniia Sytnyk, "V Den matery," Novyi shliakh (8 My 1941): 4; N.L. Kohuska, "Materynstvo v nynishnykh chasakh," Ukrainskyi holos (9 My 1945): 11; Olenka Negrych, "Great Mothers," Promin 6, no. 5 (My 1965): 15-6; Oleksandra Myndiuk, "Den materi," Nasha doroha 2, no. 2 (Ap-Je 1971): 57-8; and Lesia Khraplyva, "Ukrainskym materiam," Nasha doroha 13, no. 2 (Ap-Je 1982): 6.

[71] See the many UWOC articles on Babenko and Basarab in particular; the war orphans reference comes from a UWOC Mothers' Day report from Bienfait, Saskatchewan, Novyi shliakh (14 Je 1938): 11.

[72] O. Kysilevska, "Sviato matery," Kanadiiskyi ukrainets (8 My 1929): 4. See also, for example, letter, Paraska Ogryzlo, Sifton, Ukrainskyi holos (5 Je 1912): 4; "Z nahody Sviata materi," Novyi shliakh (7 My 1935): 5; L. Sliuzar, "Den materi," Ukrainskyi holos (9 My 1934): 11; and "Do Dnia materi," Promin 21, nos. 7-8 (Jl-Ag 1980): 8. M.P. Iasenivskyi, "Pid rozvahu vsikh svidomykh ukraintsiv v Kanadi i Zluchenykh Derzhavakh Pivnichnoi Ameryky," Ranok (10 Mr 1920): 2, stresses that Ukrainians everywhere are all children of one Mother, Ukraine; while a delegate speech in "Tretyi narodnyi zizd v Saskatuni," Kanadiiskyi farmer (31 Ja 1919): 3-4, provides a melodramatic allegory of the mother as Ukraine.

[73] Ie.H., "U Den materi," Visnyk (1 My 1938): 6-7. Ukrainian Catholic women in particular have associated Mothers' Day with the Mother of God, as May is Mary's month in the Catholic Church; in 1956 the UCWL set aside a day in May to honour the Mother of God as its patroness.

[74] See, for example, Savelia Stechyshyn, "Ukrainska zhinka v mynulomu i suchasnomu," Promin 17, no. 2 (F 1976): 3-6; and the editorial, Nasha doroha 12, no. 2 (Ap-Je 1981): 18.

[75] The major progressive statement on Shevchenko is Peter Krawchuk, Shevchenko in Canada (Toronto 1961). The nationalists have falsified Shevchenko's legacy, Krawchuk maintains, by turning him "from a revolutionary democrat into a servant of the gentry who called on 'the whole Ukrainian nation', both artistocrat and serf, to conciliation - to class compromise" (64). On Shevchenko and women, see, for example, "Zhinocha dolia v tvorakh Tarasa Shevchenka," Robitnytsia 1, no. 1 (15 Mr 1924): 3-4; Iv. Ierofiiv, "Pravo zhinky i matery v tvorakh T. Shevchenka," Robitnytsia 5, no. 6 (15 Mr 1928): 167-73; "Zhinka-strazhdalnytsia u tvorakh Shevchenka," Robitnytsia 14, no. 6 (15 Mr 1937): 7-8; "Taras Shevchenko iak oboronets ponevolenoi i pokryvdzhenoi zhinky," Holos robitnytsi 1, no. 3 (Mr 1923): 4-7; and Mary Skrypnyk, "Shevchenko Sang of the Women's Lot," Ukrainian Canadian (1 My 1961): 12-3.

[76] Shevchenko's anniversary is celebrated in March, the month when he was born and died. The following represent only a random selection of the articles appearing in the nationalist women's press either to mark his anniversary or to publicize his message for Mothers' Day: Katria Novosad, "Na Den Tarasa Shevchenka," Ukrainskyi holos (11 Mr 1936): 11; "Shevchenko, a zhinocha dolia," Ukrainskyi holos (8 Mr 1939): 11; D.E. Iandova, "Poshana materiam u tvorakh Shevchenka," Ukrainskyi holos (10 My 1939): 11; and for a later period, again from UWAC circles, Olenka Negrych, "'Mother' in Shevchenko's Life and Poetry," Promin 2, no. 5 (My 1961): 18-9.

CHAPTER VIII

PRINCESS OLHA AND THE UKRAINIAN MOTHER IN CANADA (PART 1)

Organizations, often a bewildering array and unnecessary number to outsiders, have long defined Ukrainian Canadian community life. Nationwide networks representing often antagonistic political perspectives and interpretations of both the Ukrainian Canadian experience and events in twentieth-century Ukraine have been vehicles for a leadership elite defining its group's "mission" and the obligations thereby placed on all Ukrainian Canadians. It is through these same organizations that group goals and needs have been translated into programs of action and propagandized among the masses. And it is through their organizations that Ukrainian activists and spokespersons have projected a collective group image and sense of purpose onto the consciousness of mainstream Canadian society. Whether the ambitions and assumptions of the community elite correspond to those of the grassroots or not, their community's organizations and institutions have given Ukrainian Canadians their official identity.

Formal female participation in community life has been predominantly through women's organizations.[1] Their establishment reflected the conviction, shared by both sexes, that Ukrainian Canadian women as part of the Ukrainian nation had functions that transcended a purely domestic role. It also reflected the conviction, again shared by both sexes, that women had special needs, interests and responsibilities as Ukrainians that justified and made necessary their separate organization within community structures. The female elite spearheading the national women's organizations that crystallized in the interwar years attempted to draw rural and urban women across Canada into local associations under their respective umbrellas. There they were to be instructed in their duties as Ukrainian mothers and homemakers and actively involved in the affairs of their community.

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Unenlightened and apathetic parents, who needed guidance themselves, were not alone to blame for Nasha Meri and Katie. Members of the intelligentsia bore equal responsibility when they refused the community leadership roles for which education and affluence qualified them and which events demanded of them.[2] That Ukrainian immigrants condemned such an abdication reflects both a consensus concerning the duty of the more able or privileged toward the group and its less fortunate members and the reluctance by segments of this elite to acknowledge their role. Others among the immigrant "village" intelligentsia, and the Canadian born and raised who augmented and eventually replaced them, shared the idea of group responsibility and indeed assumed the leadership of their group as their prerogative. Anxious to commit Ukrainians to enlightenment and progress in the interests of their status in Anglo-Canadian society and to mobilize them behind general national-cultural goals and specific political ideologies, these men gave the formal Ukrainian Canadian community its structure and form.[3]

The absence of women in their ranks was noted. If Ukrainians had a female intelligentsia, an article in Ukrainskyi holos stated in 1910, working girls in Winnipeg would not spend their free hours in idleness and frivolous amusements but engage in worthwhile pursuits in women's organizations under the intelligentsia's tutelage and guidance. A worker's wife used the press to criticize the inertia of those women whom education and privilege equipped and obliged to lead their sex: the wives of doctors, lawyers, priests, politicians, businessmen and teachers, and teachers themselves, who ought to have been in the vanguard of organizing women for national purposes. Other women complained of male attitudes, particularly on the farm, that prevented the education of Ukrainian girls to create an enlightened leadership and which objected to women in community leadership roles.[4]

As it was, pioneer female leaders emerged from three sources. The first were the wives and daughters of the principal figures of the male intelligentsia, women like those who, on the initiative of the recently elected Manitoba MLA, Taras Ferley, formed the Ukrainian Women's Enlightenment Association in Winnipeg in 1916. Established in Ferley's words "to be concerned not only with childrearing and homemaking but also the need for women to become interested in national and political affairs in order to become the equals of other citizens of this country,"[5] it was a response to the franchise, and has been considered the predecessor of the organized Ukrainian women's movement in Canada. The virtual absence of an immigrant female intelligentsia, however, ensured that female leadership roles early devolved to a young, Canadian-educated generation.[6] This was particularly true of the Mohylianky, female students at the Petro Mohyla Institute in Saskatoon who lived at the bursa while pursuing their studies and underwent an aggressive

Ukrainization. In 1926, several of these women established the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada (UWAC) as a non-denominational organization uniting Ukrainian women across the country, although it soon identified with the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church.[7] Interwar immigrants constituted the third source of female leaders. One such woman was Kharytia Kononenko, who lived in Canada briefly (1923-25) before returning to Europe, unable to adjust. At the Mohyla Institute - where her Eastern Ukrainian and prominent family background, education, culture and intelligence were recalled to have impressed students and staff alike - she was welcomed for her influence on the national consciousness of its Canadian charges.[8] Kononenko was an important participant in the gestation of the UWAC. Of more visible impact were the women immigrating in company with veterans of the revolutionary struggles or otherwise gravitating to the ideological organizations these men established. They formed women's branches or affiliates of the monarchist Canadian Sitch Organization and its successor, the United Hetman Organization, and of the republican Ukrainian War Veterans' Association and the more prominent Ukrainian National Federation (UNF) it spawned. It was with the latter that the most important interwar "immigrant" women's group, the Ukrainian Women's Organization of Canada (UWOC), affiliated.[9]

While the Canadian-educated generation undertaking the organization of its sex had a prairie (often rural) background, emerging from the same milieu as Nasha Meri and Katie, the new immigrant leadership tended from the beginning to be urban and as active in eastern as in western Canada. But although organizational work proceeded outward and downward from the major urban centres where the national women's organizations were headquartered, and from directives originating with their central executives and national conventions, organizational activity was not to be limited to the more accessible towns and cities to the neglect of the countryside or remote resource frontiers. National and regional organizers like Rozha Kovalska, UWOC organizer in eastern Canada, and Savella Stechishin, who combined agitation on behalf of the UWAC with her home economics lectures to Ukrainian women in rural Saskatchewan, worked in the field to mobilize ordinary women. And in localities across the prairies individual female teachers, often bursa products and far superior in education to the surrounding women, spearheaded the organization of local women's groups, either as independent entities or as affiliates of one or another of the new national organizations, and provided leadership for their special community projects.[10]

On the periphery of this organizational frenzy during the 1920s and 1930s by female activists committed to the idea of independent nation-wide women's organizations under a centralized authority were Ukrainian Catholic and progressive women. The former, although organized locally since the pioneer period, did not organize nationally until 1944, and have always acknowledged the practical and inspirational assistance of the clergy.[11] The latter, while organized across Canada among working and farm women, never existed independently of the main male-dominated Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association (ULFTA). Moreover, editorial control of their official organs, Holos robitnytsi and Robitnytsia, lay in male hands. Both the UWAC and UWOC maintained pages in Ukrainskyi holos and Novyi shliakh respectively,[12] perceiving the press as the principal means of reaching their potential audience.

As an identifiable and activist elite became set apart from the rest of Ukrainian women by the process and fact of organization, it remained tied to developments in the larger community. While the nationalist women's organizations, unlike their progressive counterpart, enjoyed independence in their own sphere, they functioned within the framework of the major male-dominated institutions defining organized community life and controlling community decision-making. The UWAC, together with the Ukrainian Canadian Youth Association, was part of the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League (USRL); the UWOC and Ukrainian Nationalist Youth were affiliates of the UNF; and the latecomer Ukrainian Catholic Women's League (UCWL) joined the Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood and Ukrainian Catholic Youth in the Ukrainian Catholic Council. When in 1940 the nationalist community created the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (UCC) as an ad hoc superstructure to coordinate the Ukrainian Canadian war effort and speak with a united voice on behalf of the Ukrainian nation, women's organizations, to their chagrin, were excluded as independent participants.[13] They formed their own Ukrainian Canadian Women's Committee (UCWC) in 1944,[14] and when the coordinating superstructure was made permanent after the war, the UCWC continued its separate existence.

Although the nation-wide and large-scale organization of Ukrainian Canadian women was identified with the interwar and World War Two years, women had been coming together in groups since early in the century. In 1901, Roman Catholic nuns in Edmonton organized the Ruthenian Young Ladies Club, a night school where working girls learned English, their catechism, needlework, and, when the Ukrainian Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate arrived a year later, Ukrainian music and handicrafts.[15] Ukrainian Catholic sisterhoods cleaned and beautified parish churches and raised funds for parish projects or their own charitable activities. In 1915-16, for example, the sisterhood at Ss. Volodymyr and Olha Church in Winnipeg bought Christmas gifts for Ukrainian internees in nearby Brandon.[16] Other pioneer women's auxiliaries, like the "Zoria" Society in Edmonton, were attached to Ukrainian secular institutions.[17] Women participated individually as well as collectively in their local chytalnia, prosvita association or narodnyi dim, attending its lectures and concerts, acting in its plays, singing in its choirs, cooking for its communal meals. Individuals like Paranka Oleinik in rural Alberta, elected secretary of her local branch of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party, occupied official positions.[18]

Although virtually all pioneer women's organizations saw themselves as models and sources of inspiration for their unorganized and unenlightened sisters, and the Ukrainian Women's Enlightenment Association attempted to organize women's groups in rural Manitoba on its example,[19] more extensive organization awaited a sufficiently large pool of women with not only the commitment and talents but also the time for such undertakings. The degree to which farm women could and would participate hinged upon progress in Ukrainian agriculture, particularly mechanization of the farming operation proper together with the purchase of labour-saving devices for the home that relieved women's workload and freed them for other pursuits. The participation of urban working women also depended on available leisure time, and for both groups the attitudes of their menfolk were critical.

The interwar obsession with organization on the part of both men and women not only reflected a more mature and prosperous community, expanded civil rights and education for women, and purely objective factors like improved communications. It also reflected, for the nationalists, the stimulus of the revolutionary years and defeat, as well as escalating nativism in Canada, and for the progressives, the stimulus of the Bolshevik victory and communist experiment in their Soviet homeland, as well as the need to intensify the class struggle elsewhere. Women specifically were stimulated and challenged by developments among their sex in the old country. Progressives, for example, lauded women's expanded roles in the Soviet Union. The UWOC pledged to honour the memory of the female martyrs and heroines of the independence struggles. The interwar years also witnessed the mass organization of Ukrainian women of Galicia in the Women's Union; dedicated to improving the quality of life in the village, mobilizing Ukrainian women in the nation's service, and using international forums to publicize the Ukrainian cause, it enlisted the aid of Ukrainian women overseas, and in Canada appealed particularly to Ukrainian Catholic circles and the UWAC.

Why were Ukrainian women's organizations formed? Milena Rudnytska, one of the founders of the Women's Union and its head from 1927 to 1939, had this to say:

> The Ukrainian women's movement was never an egotistic movement concerned with narrowly conceived women's interests. We always emphasized responsibility rather than rights, and when we demanded "rights" for ourselves, we did so out of the profound conviction that without them we could not serve our People as active and useful citizens. We always understood these rights as the right to public service, as the right to serve the Nation. Service to the Nation was, and continues to be, one of the guiding precepts of the Ukrainian women's movement, a precept from which the movement drew its strength and moral satisfaction.[20]

Reprinted in the front of the golden jubilee history of the UWAC, Rudnytska's words express the thinking of the women at the forefront of the nationalist organization of Ukrainian women in Canada. Ukrainian Canadian women's organizations were formed because women had specific roles and responsibilities as Ukrainians, a view that subordinated female issues to Ukrainian ones and valued community or group service ahead of individual self-fulfilment. But Ukraine's predicament together with the national-cultural needs of Ukrainian Canadians that demanded the submersion of personal and gender interests in the collective interest, meant support for female rights when they were perceived to advance the Ukrainian cause. Women, as one-half the nation, had to expect to shoulder the burdens of group membership, participating alongside men as intelligent, active and conscious members of their community.[21]

Women's organizations were to be the vehicles through which a female ideological elite would arouse the great mass of Ukrainian Canadian women, supplementing the practical education and general knowledge of the Canadian school with the national consciousness, self-confidence and sense of direction that were integral to true enlightenment. Enlightenment and education for women better to acquit their group obligations as full citizens of the nation, and the participation in public life through their organizations that these obligations imposed, imply support of women's emancipation from traditional subordinate and domestic roles. And indeed, the Ukrainian Canadian women leading the organizational drive among their sex constantly stressed the need to extend their sphere beyond children, the kitchen and the church.[22] But ultimately, the radicalism in "active on every front" and "arm in arm with men," even the militancy and glorification of physical martyrdom of the UWOC, was more apparent than real.

To the UWOC, for example, women's expanded role was a sacrifice in an unnatural situation, one no longer required when Ukraine lay secure in its own state.[23] Meanwhile, to the extent that centuries of national subjugation had made Ukrainian women feel inferior to men, unprepared to shoulder equal (although not necessarily identical) burdens and responsibilities, they had to be emancipated - developing their full potential to aid in the emancipation of the Fatherland. The cause demanded cooperation between the sexes not gender conflict based on a misunderstanding of equal rights, where women attempted to assert female superiority or promote selfish individual or gender interests.[24] A UWAC spokesperson addressing the first congress of the UCC in 1943 on the role of women in the life of the nation argued that the intent of the international women's movement had been to secure women their democratic rights as human beings to enable them to fulfil their "natural" function in society, which was to bear and rear children.[25] Back in 1926 the founding convention of the UWAC had been told:

> Our women's movement in Canada and in Ukraine should have one objective: to help Ukrainian women develop intellectually, to prepare them for civic, domestic and public life. The preparation of our women to be good mothers is a matter of far greater importance than politics, electoral rights or office-holding.
>
> Today, when our homeland, church and schools are in the hands of foreign conquerors, the women of Halychyna [Galicia] and central Ukraine must pay particular attention to the upbringing of children. Only the home remains in our hands and the home must provide a national upbringing.[26]

Unlike women who did not know what they wanted and were organizing for "women's liberation," a priest told the UCWL in 1973, the self-sacrificing and industrious Ukrainian woman has known exactly what she wanted: to be a good Christian, a good companion to her husband, a good mother, a good parishioner, and thereby a good daughter of her church and people.[27]

In fact, not only was the quality of Ukrainian Canadian motherhood crucial to the establishment and aims of all three nationalist women's organizations but it has remained their dominant focus.[28] Community work, forbidden to infringe upon women's primary role in the home, has itself been defined in terms that emphasized women's "maternal" and "feminine" qualities and traditional socially-prescribed female roles. Ukrainian Canadian women were informed that just as they were responsible for the well-being of their immediate families, so they had a duty toward their larger family, their nation.[29] This equation of the nation with the family both justified and obliged women's community involvement, but it automatically directed their activity toward traditional female pre-occupations - children and education, charity, the church, handicrafts. Again, the radicalism in the surface message to Ukrainian Canadian women has been muted. Ukrainian Canadian women's organizations, as participants in public community life, admit through their propaganda and programs that they have perceived their gender to guarantee them a separate sphere, special roles and responsibilities as members of their group, and special talents to bring to their work.[30]

The organization of progressive women proceeded from different criteria than service to a captive Ukrainian nation. Rather, the Women's Section of the ULFTA aimed to cultivate the consciousness of Ukrainian Canadian working and farm women to identify them with their class interests, under an exploitative capitalist system, and thus with the international revolutionary movement.[31] Already in the pioneer period, Ukrainian socialists had stressed organization as the answer to the sexual, ethnic and economic discrimination Nasha Meri and Katie encountered in the marketplace.[32] The campaign intensified under their communist successors as more Ukrainian women entered the work force and as the Great Depression further battered an already powerless proletariat. Robitnytsia's heart-wrenching tales of defenceless female workers carried the admonition to organize and to engage in organized struggle - through the Women's Section of the ULFTA, local unions and the Communist Party of Canada - for the soviet order where men and women were free and equal.[33] The enlightenment and organization of farm women was especially urgent, given their greater numbers, ignorance and oppression; a backbreaking workload and poverty combined with the vagaries of world markets to enslave them to the land and giant corporations without the weapons of unionization and the strike that urban workers possessed.[34] To liberate their rural sisters became a duty to a conscious urban "elite" in the progressive movement.[35]

Despite the progressive movement's self-professed commitment to female equality, the issue was never far from the surface in the Women's Section of the ULFTA, whose very existence testifies that women, because of peculiar needs and tasks, were to be treated differently. And indeed, the origins of the Women's Section, in committees to aid famine victims in the Soviet Union in 1921-22 on the grounds that women were best suited to this work,[36] identified them firmly with stereotyped nurturing roles. A series of articles in Robitnytsia in 1928-29 demonstrates how interrelated the questions of women's organization and male chauvinism within progressive ranks were. The catalyst to the discussion was the statement that women were by nature physically and mentally inferior to and dependent on men, making their meaningful participation in community life impossible and organization unnecessary as men bore all oppression on their behalf. While angry respondents pointed out that millions of working and farm women knew socioeconomic oppression directly, women in particular drew attention to their extra burden as outside labour did not reduce their domestic responsibilities and oppression by their own men made "slaves of slaves." Only through organization would women acquire the consciousness to become true comrades in the workers' struggle, and men who objected to their enlightenment and participation catered to bourgeois sexist propaganda keeping workers weak and divided. Female respondents also insisted upon separate branches so that women could speak and act freely, receive the politicization preliminary to direct involvement in the revolutionary movement, and transcend a purely kitchen function.[37] At the same time, the Women's Section and branches of the ULFTA never escaped their initial reliance on male initiative and guidance. Besides editing their press, men authored much of their educational and discussion literature. And progressive women, singly and in their national conventions, repeatedly appealed to their male comrades for help as organizers, instructors and inspiration.[38]

Accepting the fact and necessity of women working outside the home, progressives neither agitated for primarily domestic roles nor saw women's organizations largely as vehicles for improving the quality of their motherhood. The progressive press, like the nationalist, regularly printed practical information on childcare, health and homemaking but it did not include a mother's role in the home in the interests of the Ukrainianness of her children as part of its message. This is not to imply the absence of an idealized image of self-sacrificing and noble mothers (such an image, in fact, was an essential ingredient of progressive propaganda) or the failure to associate class-conscious mothers, alerted and educated in their task through women's organizations, with class-conscious children.[39] Progressive mothers, for example, had to be vigilant against the influences of such servants of capitalism as the public school and Hollywood, as well as the general demoralization equated with "the street"; and the women's branches of the ULFTA were to be actively involved in the organization of progressive youth.[40] But the responsibilities of class-conscious mothers received much less emphasis than legitimate organizational activity by women and their participation in the class struggle directly,[41] and as teachers of class consciousness mothers were overshadowed by the labour-temple.

It was otherwise with nationalist women's organizations, geared to encourage the Ukrainian woman's personal growth and to provide direction for her private and public life as a Ukrainian fully conscious of her national obligations. By taking part in the day-to-day activities of her organization's local branch, by reading the uplifting Ukrainian books and newspapers her national office promoted and the propaganda literature it prepared, by attending club lectures and participating in discussion groups,[42] the Ukrainian woman would shed her ignorance and apathy, identify with her people's strivings, and become the equal of other Canadian women, particularly the English. But above all, nationalist women's organizations were to prepare women to be good Ukrainian mothers and homemakers, and to involve them in the formal Ukrainization of the group's youth.[43] Childrearing, on which the future rested, guaranteed Ukrainian Canadian women a crucial role in the fate of their group in Canada and their nation in Ukraine. It could foster self-esteem and a sense of importance, but it imposed great pressures, placing Ukrainian survival squarely on women's shoulders.

Being a good Ukrainian mother and homemaker meant raising healthy, moral, industrious members of society. It meant proficiency as a housekeeper, and vigilance against alcohol and other evils bedevilling family life. Nationalist women's organizations acknowledged this aspect of their mandate to enlighten and guide the great mass of Ukrainian Canadian women, telling them, for example, how to improve their housekeeping and childcare in the interests of their family's well-being, and emphasizing the necessity of improvement if Ukrainians were to progress and redeem their uncultured reputation among the English.[44] Being a good Ukrainian mother and homemaker meant utilizing the material advantages and ideas of Canadian society to conform to its standards, but it meant doing so without permitting assimilation by the Anglo-Canadian culture that society and standard represented. For above all, being a good Ukrainian mother and homemaker meant ensuring the Ukrainian character and commitment of the rising generation; it required dedication, intelligent interest in Ukrainian national affairs, and knowledge of the culture and traditions of the Ukrainian people so as to be a model and inspiration for her husband and children.

But being a good Ukrainian mother and homemaker began with choosing the right husband. Ukrainianness has demanded and demands that Ukrainians marry Ukrainians. Despite the community's emphasis on its people's great love and respect for freedom, freedom has been denied the group's members when perceived to frustrate national-cultural survival and commitment to Ukraine.[45] Women's organizations, like the nationalist community in general, have considered it their right and duty to instruct individual Ukrainians on the conduct of their private lives when it has impinged upon community objectives by threatening to alienate them from the group.

The spectre of intermarriage, in fact, had been one argument for the education of Ukrainian girls - to ensure that the educated Ukrainian young man did not have to look to foreign nationalities for a compatible bride. Intermarriage among the educated of both sexes has continued to disturb community leaders, and the trend toward mixed marriages[46] since the Second World War has alarmed the displaced persons immigration in particular. Women's organizations have increasingly advised aging memberships not only of a mother's responsibility to rear her children in a positive Ukrainian spirit to forestall marriage outside the group, and the woman's responsibility in selecting her husband, but also of the proper attitude toward the non-Ukrainian son- or daughter-in-law and the grandmother's role in the Ukrainization of the children. Members have also been advised on ways to ensure that youth meet potential spouses; youth have been advised of the "higher law" and purpose to being born Ukrainian, and of the community's right to criticize and dictate when survival is at stake; and the community itself has endorsed the Ukrainian marriage bureau to guarantee conscious Ukrainian spouses for conscious Ukrainian Canadian youth.[47]

The instructions given Ukrainian Canadian women on how to raise Ukrainian children and maintain Ukrainian homes have remained remarkably constant, and parallel closely the ten Ukrainian commandments Ukrainskyi holos compiled for its readers in 1914.[48] Good Ukrainian mothers speak only Ukrainian to their children and teach them to read and write their mother tongue. They sing them Ukrainian songs, tell them Ukrainian tales and proverbs, and read them Ukrainian stories. As their children grow older, they provide them with Ukrainian books and periodicals and teach them about Ukrainian history, culture and national aspirations. They give their children Ukrainian names. They ensure that they have Ukrainian playmates and that they speak Ukrainian together. To guarantee formal socialization in a Ukrainian milieu and spirit, they take their children to church and community events; send them to ridna shkola, Sunday School and youth organizations[49]; and in more recent years enrol them in public-school Ukrainian language courses or bilingual programs. They encourage their higher education, the better to equip the next generation to aid Ukraine and improve the group's standing in Canada; and as mothers of future mothers, they pay particular attention to raising their daughters.

Good Ukrainian homemakers balance modernization and Canadianization in the home with Ukrainianness.[50] They hang Ukrainian kylymy (rugs), Ukrainian icons and pictures of Ukrainian heroes and heroines draped in rushnyky, and more recently works by Ukrainian and Ukrainian Canadian artists on their walls; they display glass bowls of Easter eggs; they put embroidered runners and cushions on their furniture and accent their family's clothes with Ukrainian embroidery motifs; and they serve Ukrainian food.[51] As home managers, they heed the call "svii do svoho" and patronize Ukrainian businessmen and professionals. They augment the visible symbols of Ukrainianness with a Ukrainian patriotic, cultural and religious atmosphere. They maintain their national and religious customs within the family, celebrating major holidays like Christmas and Easter in the Ukrainian tradition and reciting Ukrainian prayers. They improve their Ukrainian language skills if necessary, and they read the Ukrainian press and literature and follow Ukrainian affairs, so that at the supper table they can introduce Ukrainian topics and lead informed discussions with their husbands and children - who are encouraged to read Ukrainian material and follow Ukrainian affairs themselves.

To die for an idea, wrote one women's publication, was not the only type of heroism; to live and work for that idea was equally heroic.[52] The Ukrainian Canadian mother who acquitted her national obligations shared the mantle of the "Great Mothers" of Ukrainian history, in a manner deliberately employed by community propagandists to spur others to accept the burden they bear together with their past and present counterparts in Ukraine. Just as Princess Olha, for example, had had the courage and determination to raise Volodymyr as a Christian when surrounded by pagans, and just as the nameless mothers throughout Ukrainian history have kept alive their language and traditions under foreign occupation, so the Ukrainian mother in Canada is called to the same effort and sacrifice to prevent the denationalization of her children. The absence of the stressful and repressive conditions hampering women in Ukraine make abdication the more inexcusable.

The inevitable question emerging from the Ukrainian Canadian mother's charge to rear conscious Ukrainians concerns the thrust of that consciousness. One purpose has been group survival in Canada - so that youth as adults married to like-thinking Ukrainians will perpetuate their language, culture and values in their own children and maintain community institutions. Despite a ghetto mentality and closed society implicit in this, national-cultural survival was to co-exist with full integration into Canadian socioeconomic, political and cultural life. Indeed, good Ukrainian mothers encouraged the higher education on which the latter rested. But continuing language loss, religious assimilation, intermarriage, and alienation from community political institutions despite interest in non-linguistic cultural activities,[53] suggest two things. Either an interwar and subsequent generation of Ukrainian mothers failed in their duty or they proved powerless against the tensions in the community blueprint and the attractions and pervasiveness of Canadian society itself.

The other purpose behind rearing conscious Ukrainian Canadian youth has been aid to Ukraine, which is predicated upon a politicized consciousness tied to the homeland. How was this to be expressed in Canada? Was material aid to stop with fund-raising projects on behalf of interwar Galicia? Was moral support to be confined to community protest meetings, petitions, and lobbying the Canadian government and people? Exclusion from direct participation in Ukraine's struggles has been especially felt by self-styled political immigrants from the interwar and postwar immigrations. All nationalists have stressed the unparalleled opportunities for Ukrainian work that Canadian freedom, democracy and material prosperity provide, but the writings of political immigrants and their organizations convey a sense of guilt for having chosen the path that did not involve physical danger and personal suffering and sacrifice.

This attitude exists in the interwar literature of the UWOC. An organization which glorified Spartan mothers urging their sons into battle, and martyrs like Olha Basarab who died for the National Idea, found an emigration situation frustrating. The woman working in her Sudbury kitchen or at a UWOC bazaar could not be another Olha Basarab and make the supreme sacrifice for her nation. Nor could she share the discomfort and sorrow and suffering of her sisters in Ukraine.[54] Nevertheless, as Ukrainians prepared for the forthcoming struggle that must see them victorious, her organization instructed her that it was not enough to cultivate Ukrainian domestic arts or national traditions, for they "do not create a militant, self-sacrificing nationalist spirit."[55] Ukrainian mothers in Canada were to raise sons and daughters who hated their enemy while loving their own and who could be called upon at any moment, prepared to die for the good of their people.[56] Such rhetoric complemented the UNF's radio-telegraphy (1935) and flying (1938) schools established to train youth for the Ukrainian campaign in the anticipated European war.[57]

Beside the Ukrainian consciousness, whether political or cultural, to be imparted to Ukrainian Canadian children has stood the matter of their Canadian consciousness. For the UWOC, Canada and the Ukrainian woman's Canadian responsibilities were of little consequence until the Second World War obliged UNF circles - with their open admiration of Nazi Germany and fascist Italy, and equally open hatred of Poland and the Soviet Union - to prove their loyalty. Before the war a UWOC organizer had told Ukrainian mothers that their children must realize that Canada was not their Fatherland, that they had a higher responsibility to work for a free homeland to which they might return.[58] With the war mothers were told that they were to raise not only nationalist warriors for Ukraine but also good and grateful Canadian citizens ready to defend their country. UWOC spokespersons laid claim to the pioneer generation of Ukrainian mothers in Canada who had not only made great sacrifices for their children's education and progress but also reared them to be "good, respectable Canadian citizens" who proved their great love for Canada by "spontaneous voluntary enlistment" and their lives.[59] The psychological atmosphere of crisis, patriotic fervour and sacrifice that war created struck a responsive chord in an organization with the UWOC's values and eased accommodation of the new fatherland with the old. For nationalist women's organizations with their roots in the pioneer immigration, the transition to Canadian wartime rhetoric and the sentiments it expressed was more natural.

As nationalist women came together in the UCWC, they used their labour on the home front, their sons' military record to preserve freedom and democracy in the world, and their own sacrifices as the mothers of those sons, to press for Ukrainian goals. By their blood sacrifice for the ideals they shared with other Canadians, and as Canadian mothers who gave their sons for those ideals, Ukrainian Canadians and Ukrainian Canadian women had earned the right to help Ukrainians overseas, who, in their historical struggle for survival, had demonstrated their own commitment to freedom and democracy. Their sons' deaths also earned Ukrainian Canadian women the right to make demands of all Canadians on their people's behalf, to petition the Canadian government and agitate among mainstream women's organizations for the admission of Ukrainian and other refugees to Canada. Indeed, the values for which Canadians had gone to war obliged them to respond. Ukrainian Canadian women were also to acknowledge their debt to the dead by raising worthy citizens of Canada, who loved all that was good and beautiful, including their own culture, traditions and faith. "In this manner," the UCWC president stated in 1946, "we raise conscious citizens and add our flavour to the cultural wreath of our adopted homeland."[60]

Herein lies the essence of Canadianness as it has been understood and propagandized through nationalist women's organizations, reflecting the views of the Ukrainian Canadian community in general. In 1936, when

Lord Tweedsmuir as governor-general of Canada addressed a Ukrainian gathering, he made the comment, "You will all be better Canadians for being also good Ukrainians." That sentence has been seized by Ukrainian Canadians as their guarantee to the right to group survival in Canada.[61] In heeding Tweedsmuir's dictum, by telling Ukrainian Canadian mothers to rear conscious Ukrainians and worthy citizens of Canada, nationalist women's organizations were also following the footsteps of the pioneer intelligentsia. It had insisted that self-knowledge and self-respect, part of true enlightenment, were necessary both to elevate Ukrainians to the level of other Canadians and to make complete human beings capable of a useful contribution to society.

A Ukrainian consciousness rooted in pride in their Ukrainian heritage and identification with the strivings of the Ukrainian people raised the self-esteem of young Ukrainian Canadians and won them respect from other Canadian children. It was also necessary for Canada, because the citizen who abandoned his or her heritage would eventually abandon Canada too.[62] Knowing the ideals for which their ancestors fought and were still fighting, Ukrainian Canadian children brought their dedication to human dignity, freedom, democracy and justice to the Canadian mosaic. A Ukrainian consciousness in Ukrainian Canadian youth has also become tied to the need to make them aware of their legacy from the pioneers who built Canada, laid the foundations of Ukrainian Canadian community life and furnished an example to their heirs. Lastly, just as the Ukrainian child is born into the group and cannot escape its obligations, so he or she has an unalienable right to his or her national language, culture, traditions and political security.[63] For the Ukrainian mother in Canada to deny her children their birthright would be to deny them full personhood.

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Ukrainian Canadian women have been said to work for the good of Canada by promoting good citizenship. But the definition of "Canadian" that emerges from their instructions to rear worthy sons and daughters of the Ukrainian people, while simultaneously rearing worthy citizens of Canada, lacks the emotion of the Ukrainian half of the duality, except through the peasant pioneers. Bent to serve Ukrainian purposes, it demonstrates how the community has been willing to enlist Canada and Canadianism in the Ukrainian interest. Organized women's life proper demonstrates this even more clearly, in the moral and material aid to Ukrainian causes and Ukraine that nationalist women's organizations have always perceived as a major part of their mandate.

FOOTNOTES

[1] The importance of Ukrainian community institutions in both the informal social life and formal socialization of Ukrainian immigrant women generally, with much of their leisure time occupied by community events and their friendships dictated by church and organizational affiliations, is described in Charles M. Bayley, "The Social Structure of the Italian and Ukrainian Immigrant Communities in Montreal, 1935-1937" (M.A., McGill University, 1939), 102-3. This contrasted with Italian women in the study. Bayley's example of a typical evening at a Ukrainian hall featured a program commemorating Olha Basarab (223-35).

[2] On both the need for and role of an intelligentsia, see, for example, Vasyl Holovatskyi, "V spravi uchytelskoi organizatsyi v Kanadi," *Kanadiiskyi farmer* (14 Je 1907): 2; letter, O.H. Hykavyi, "Sprava rusko-angliiskykh uchyteliv v Kanadi," *Kanadiiskyi farmer* (15 N 1907): 2; Onufrii ...yi, "Slivtse do nashykh patriotiv vorohiv assymiliatsii," *Kanadiiskyi farmer* (15 F 1911): 5; Friend, "Dolia nashykh divchat," *Ukrainskyi holos* (25 N 1914): 6; "Nam treba inteligentsii," *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* (30 Ag 1916): 4; "Nashi uchyteli," *Kanadiiskyi farmer* (27 Jl 1917): 4; "Narid i ioho providnyky," *Kanadiiskyi farmer* (2 Ag 1918): 6; "Ukrainskym rodycham i intelihentam," *Ukrainskyi holos* (4 S 1918): 3; "Richni zahalni zbory Instytutu im. Mykhaila Hrushevskoho," *Ukrainskyi holos* (26 Mr 1919): 10; N.B...sh, "Pro ukrainskykh uchyteliv," *Ukrainskyi holos* (26 S 1923): 7; "Iakoi nam treba inteligentsii?" *Ukrainskyi holos* (4 Ag 1926): 4 and (11 Ag 1926): 4; "Znachinnia inteligentsii," *Ukrainskyi holos* (18 My 1927): 4; and "Do vyshchykh shkil, do instytutiv," *Ukrainskyi holos* (20 Ag 1930): 4.

[3] These ideas concerning the group leadership role automatically accruing to the educated and successful persisted in community thinking. See, for example, S. Frolick, "The Future of Ukrainian Youth in Canada," in Ukrainian Canadian Committee, *First All-Canadian Congress of Ukrainians in Canada* (Winnipeg 1943), 168; and the 1959 speech by Basil Kushnir in Komitet ukraintsiv Kanady, *Piatyi i shostyi vse-kanadiiski kongresy ukraintsiv Kanady* (Winnipeg [1959]), 167-8. The elite was not only to provide community leadership but also to help Ukrainians improve their status in Canadian society.

[4] K., "Stanovyshche zhenshchyny u nas," *Ukrainskyi holos* (22 Je 1910): 6; and Natalia B., "Do ukrainskoho zhinotstva," *Ukrainskyi holos* (19 N 1919): 3. On the need for a female intelligentsia and the group obligation befalling the more enlightened Ukrainian women in Canada, see also T.Iu. Popel, "Zhinoche pytanie," *Ranok* (27 Mr 1912): 2; letter,

Iakiv Navalkovskyi, Rosthern, "Zhinotstvo same sebe lehkovazhyt," Ukrainskyi holos (21 Mr 1923): 6; Teklia Kroitor, "Chy vynni zhinky, shcho sami sebe lehkovazhat?" Ukrainskyi holos (11 Ap 1923): 3; Anna Arabska, "Tak, v nas zhinotstvo lehkovazats," Ukrainskyi holos (25 Ap 1923): 3; Savelia Stechyshyn, "Soiuz ukrainok Ameryky i Kanady," Ukrainskyi holos (29 Jl 1925): 4-5; Anastaziia Troian, "Brak osvichenoho zhinotstva," Ukrainskyi holos (12 D 1928): 11; and S. Savka, "Zavdannia ukrainky," Ukrainskyi holos (19 Ap 1933): 11.

[5] Cited in Semen Kovbel, comp., and Dmytro Doroshenko, ed., Propamiatna knyha Ukrainskoho narodnoho domu u Vynypegu (Winnipeg 1949), 227.

[6] Youthfulness also characterized the Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate who arrived in Canada in 1902 to work among Ukrainian immigrants. The oldest of the four, their superior, was twenty-six, the youngest barely twenty; see Claudia Helen Popowich, To Serve Is To Love: The Canadian Story of the Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate (Toronto 1971), 34.

[7] For the Mohylianky's own assessment of their influence on early Ukrainian Canadian community life, see the articles by Daria Yanda and Savella Stechishin in the Petro Mohyla Institute's silver jubilee history, Iuvileina knyha Ukrainskoho instytutu im. Petra Mohyly v Saskatuni, 1916-1941 (Saskatoon 1945), 297-305, 313-7. On the Olha Kobylianska Society, the UWAC mother branch, see Savelia Stechyshyn, Pivrichchia (1923-1973) Zhinochoho tovarystva im. Olhy Kobylianskoi v Saskatuni, Saskachevan, pershoho viddilu Soiuzu ukrainok Kanady (Saskatoon 1975).

[8] Savelia Stechyshyn, "Moi spomyny pro Kharytiu Kononenko," Promin 2, no. 5 (My 1961): 3-5. In contrast to the background of the emerging nationalist leadership is the working-class life of Mary Vinohradova, one of the pioneers in the progressive women's movement. See "Recollections of a Pioneer Woman," Ukrainian Canadian (Mr 1972): 22-4; and her autobiography in Petro Kravchuk, comp., Zhinochi doli (Toronto 1973), 60-7.

[9] The UWOC actually dates its origins from 1930 in women's branches of the Great War Veterans' Association.

[10] For two examples of teachers playing this leadership role in the Ukrainian Catholic community, see letter, D. Torbiak, "Poplarfild, Man.," Kanadiiskyi ukrainets (11 D 1929): 5; and "Bazar na Monder v dokhid ukrainskoho shpytaliu," Kanadiiskyi ukrainets (19 D 1928): 5. The UWAC was to complain that the departure of a teacher or priest's wife was a major cause of inactivity in its rural branches. See "Zvit vosmoho zizdu Soiuzu ukrainok Kanady," Ukrainskyi holos (14 F 1934): 11; Mariia Tanchak, "Uspishne vedennia zhinochykh tovarystv na farmakh," Ukrainskyi holos (25 Ja 1939): 11; and "Protokol 13-ho zizdu Soiuzu ukrainok Kanady," Ukrainskyi holos (8 Mr 1939): 10.

[11] See, for example, "Liga ukrainskykh katolytskykh zhinok/Ukrainian Catholic Women's League," in Iuvileina knyha ukraintsiv katolykiv

Saskachevanu, 1905-1955 (Saskatoon 1955), 63-79. The article acknowledges the work of Neil Savaryn (subsequently bishop of the Edmonton eparchy) in authoring the UCWL's first constitution and ends with the wish that their bishop "guide and encourage the group towards higher ideals" (79).

[12] Progressive women have not had their own press organ since Robitnytsia folded in 1937. The three nationalist organizations graduated from a women's page in the newspapers representing their respective "main" organizations to their own magazines: Zhinochyi svit (1950) for the UWOC, Promin (1960) for the UWAC and Nasha doroha (1970) for the UCWL.

[13] See, for example, the comments of Stephanie Sawchuk (UWOC) in Ukrainian Canadian Committee, First All-Canadian Congress of Ukrainians in Canada, 79. Delegates from women's organizations participated in the first UCC congress through the male organizations represented in the superstructure.

[14] The founding members of the UCWC were the UWAC, the UWOC, the UCWL and the women's section of the United Hetman Organization (now defunct).

[15] This circle gave the Sisters Servants their first Canadian recruit; see Popowich, To Serve Is To Love, 32. Ukrainian girls in Canada were subsequently urged by their priests to join the order for both religious and patriotic reasons; see, for example, o. P. Kamenetskyi, "Choho nam treba," Kanadyiskyi rusyn (17 My 1916): 4 and (7 Je 1916): 5-6.

[16] The project is discussed in Kanadyiskyi rusyn between December 1915 and March 1916. The sisterhood at Ss. Volodymyr and Olha continued it charitable activities and support of the church through the interwar years; see, for example, Member, "Richni zbory sestrytstva pry tserkvy sv. Volodymyra i Olhy v Vinnipegu," Kanadiiskyi ukrainets (1 My 1929): 8.

[17] On the history of the "Zoria" Society, see Mykhailo Khomiak, ed., Propamiatna knyha: Ukrainskyi katolytskyi soiuz - Ukrainskyi narodni dim, 1906-1965 (Edmonton [1966]), 351-66.

[18] Letter, Stry, Robochyi narod (20 Ap 1918): 3; see also letter, Wahstao, Robochyi narod (25 My 1918): 3, signed by Mariia Verenka, USDP secretary.

[19] One such attempt took place in Malanton; see "Ukrainske zhinoche prosvitne tovarystvo," Ukrainskyi holos (15 Ag 1917): 10.

[20] See what substitutes for a dedication page in Nataliia L. Kohuska, Pivstolittia na hromadskii nyvi: Narys istorii Soiuzu ukrainok Kanady (Edmonton and Winnipeg 1986).

[21] See, for example, "Za krashchu buduchnist nashoho zhinotstva," Kanadiiskyi ukrainets (19 S 1923): 3; Savelia Stechyshyn, "V spravi

zhinochoho zizdu," *Ukrainskyi holos* (17 N 1926): 5; letter, Mariia Tanchak, "Postup zhenshchyn," *Ukrainskyi holos* (16 Jl 1924): 6; S. Savka, "Zavdannia ukrainky," *Ukrainskyi holos* (19 Ap 1933): 11; Anastaziia Pavlychenko, "Natsionalistychnyi rukh sered ukrainskoho zhinotstva," *Novyi shliakh* (11 D 1934): 4; Teofilia Ivantsiv, "Zhinotstvo i ukrainskyi natsionalizm," *Novyi shliakh* (12 F 1935): 3; and Teofilia Ivantsiv, "Zavdannia zhinky-natsionalistky," *Novyi shliakh* (13 Ag 1935): 6.

[22] See, for example, "Tretyi ukrainskyi narodnyi zizd," *Ukrainskyi holos* (5 F 1919): 10, especially the speech by Olha Swystun; Guest, "Persha richnytsia T-va im. O. Besarabovi," *Kanadiiskyi ukrainets* (19 F 1930): 5, especially the speech by Mrs. Baran; and R. Kovalska, "Rolia zhinotstva v riznykh chasakh," *Novyi shliakh* (1 D 1936): 6. Many of the demands for a broadened sphere and the insistence upon its necessity, like Kovalska's above, do not make direct reference to women's traditional functions; nor is there the implication that they are something to be escaped.

[23] R. Kovalska, "Rolia zhinotstva v riznykh chasakh," *Novyi shliakh* (1 D 1936): 6.

[24] For UWOC opinion on women's emancipation, see Halia Hultai, "Do vas, zhinky!" *Novyi shliakh* (17 My 1932): 6; "Doklad R. Kovalskoi na Sviati materi...v Montreali," *Novyi shliakh* (5 Je 1934): 6, 8; Anastaziia Pavlychenko, "Nationalistychnyi rukh sered ukrainskoho zhinotstva," *Novyi shliakh* (11 D 1934): 4; Stepaniia Bubniuk, "Zavdannia Orhanizatsii ukrainok Kanady im. O. Basarabovi," (19 F 1935): 5; Anastaziia Ukrainets, "Na aktualni zhinochi temy," *Novyi shliakh* (26 F 1935): 6; Mariia Huliai, "Svitovyi zhinochyi rukh i nashe zhinotstvo," *Novyi shliakh* (10 N 1936): 6; Mariia Sorochan, "Osvita zhinky," *Novyi shliakh* (23 Mr 1937): 12; letter, Emancipated Woman, Winnipeg, *Novyi shliakh* (12 Oc 1937): 11; E. Pohoretska, "Vyzvolennia zhinky chy vyzvolennia natsii?" *Novyi shliakh* (28 D 1937): 6; "Zhinocha emantsypatsiia i natsiia," *Novyi shliakh* (17 Ap 1941): 7; and St. Vovk, "Zhinka v natsionalnii pratsi," *Novyi shliakh* (10 N 1945): 3.

[25] N. Kohuska, "Woman's Part in the Life of a Nation," in Ukrainian Canadian Committee, *First All-Canadian Congress of Ukrainians in Canada*, 156-60. For additional comments from UWAC circles on women's emancipation, see "Deshcho pro rivnopravnist zhinok," *Ukrainskyi holos* (5 D 1928): 11; Sonia Sokolivna, "Nova zhinka," *Ukrainskyi holos* (12 Je 1929): 11; and Savelia Stechyshyn, "Feminizm," *Ukrainskyi holos* (27 N 1929): 11. All three articles make the point that "emancipated" Ukrainian women are necessary for the good of the Ukrainian people, and that "emancipated" Ukrainian women are nationally conscious patriots. Mykh. Stechyshyn, "Vykhovatelka buduchoho pokolinnia," *Ukrainskyi holos* (3 My 1933): 11, argues that Ukrainians' attitudes toward women, displayed in the contemptuous use of the word *baba* (old woman), have made them the servants of others, and ties emancipation to the need for mothers who raise "free citizens not slaves."

[26] Savella Stechishin, quoted in Kohuska, *Pivstolittia na hromadskii nyvi*, 605.

[27] Mykhailo Shchudlo, "Rolia zhinky v hromadi," Nasha doroha 4, no. 1 (Ja-F 1973): 10-1; see also Irynei Nazarko, "Zhinka," Nasha doroha 8 no. 3 (Jl-S 1977): 5-6, for the thoughts of another priest. In 1946, the UWAC issued a circular to its branches and members, indicating that women were to participate in public UWAC activities only after their children and homes were properly Ukrainized; see Kohuska, Pivstolittia na hromadskii nyvi, 620-8.

[28] The best source of information on the different organizations' priorities and concerns, both those persisting over time and those representing a response to an immediate situation, is the decisions taken at their national conventions, the highest authority for each of the UWAC, the UWOC and the UCWL.

[29] See, for example, Stefaniia Abrahamovska, "Ukrainska zhinka v publychnim i rodychnim zhytiu," Ukrainskyi holos (16 Jl 1919): 16; reprinted in Kanadiiskyi ukrainets (10 Jl 1929): 4.

[30] For a recent expression of this attitude, see Mariia Pidkovych, "Chomu nam potribni zhinochi orhanizatsii?" Nasha doroha 13, no. 1 (Ja-Mr 1987): 10-3.

[31] The most important day in the calendar of organized progressive women was 8 March, International Women's Day, when they were exhorted to stand with their sisters worldwide to fight for better conditions for themselves, workers in general, and as the 1930s progressed, against war and fascism. Besides the annual editorials in Robitnytsia on the necessity and manner of observing the event, the magazine also regularly published branch reports describing the local celebration.

[32] See the editorial reply to letter, Ivan Turkevych, Winnipeg, "V spravi ukrainskykh robitnyts," Robochyi narod (18 Jl 1917): 4.

[33] See, for example, "Maty-robitnytsia," Robitnytsia 3, no. 5 (1 Mr 1926): 14, a vignette from Port Dover, Ontario, of the fate of a working mother and her child; Drapaka, "'Snep shats'," Robitnytsia 7, no. 12 (15 Je 1930): 17-8, a vignette of the special exploitation and helplessness of domestic servants; letter, V. Chervona, Toronto, "Odna z bahatokh zhertv," Robitnytsia 7, no. 17 (1 S 1930): 27-8, which stresses the particular need for organization by women, less consious than men and taught by poverty-striken parents to be submissive; "Zhyttia zovsim inakshe," Robitnytsia 7, no. 19 (1 Oc 1930): 18-21, the story of Meri, the worker's daughter, whose romantic dreams of a singing career and boys with Ford cars are shattered by harsh economic realities; N. Kondratiuk, "Vazhke polozhennia robitnyts v Kanadi," Robitnytsia 8, no. 4 (15 F 1931): 7-8, a vignette of the farm girl forced by poverty to seek work in the city; and "Khto vynuvatyi za tykh divchat i molodykh zhinok," Robitnytsia 13, no. 20 (15 Oc 1936): 9, 11, an example of the conditions that forced working girls into prostitution.

[34] For a rural parallel to the tales of the plight of the urban female worker, see Young Mother, "Os take zhyttia zhinky-materi v Kanadi," Robitnytsia 12, no. 8 (15 Ap 1935): 12-3, in which the woman writes from

the invalid home where the strain of the struggle for economic survival sent her. See also Refugee, "Zhyttia farmerky i robitnytsi," Robitnytsia 3, no. 14 (15 Jl 1926): 3-4; Farmer's Daughter, Myrnam, "Trudiashchi farmerky musiats tsikavytysia politychnoiu borotboiu v Kanadi," Robitnytsia 12, no. 12 (15 Je 1935): 9-11; and Vasylyna Aleksiievych, "Pro polozhennia trudiashchykh zhinok na farmakh," Robitnytsia 14, no. 3 (1 F 1937): 2-3.

[35] See, for example, "Promostit dorohu 'Robitnytsi' na farmy!" Robitnytsia 1 no. 4 (1 My 1924): 3-4; and Olena Stiahar, Calgary, "Na chystu vodu - Vidkynmo perezhytky," Robitnytsia 1, no. 11 (15 Ag 1924): 2-3. For an UWAC opinion on the workload and oppression of farm women, making organization imperative, see Olha Pavliuk, "Trudnosty zhinochykh organizatsii po farmakh i iak im zapobichy," Ukrainskyi holos (17 My 1933): 11.

[36] See, for example, M. Popovych, "Pochatok nashoi zhinochoi organizatsii ta ii zhurnalu," Robitnytsia 6, nos. 6-7 (15 Mr-1 Ap 1929): 162-5; and M. Shatulskyi, "Nashii 'Robitnytsi'," ibid., 190-1. Peter Krawchuk also stresses the humanitarian origins and work of the Women's Section of the ULFTA. In his introduction to Zhinochi doli (Toronto 1973), he writes: "It is necessary to say that in the course of their entire fifty years' existence the women's branches of ...the ULFTA and the AUUC have always been characterized by great humanism on behalf of those needing help, whether victims of the class struggle, social injustice, imperialist war or natural disasters" (ix).

[37] See the series, "Chy potribno zhinkam organizatsii?" in Robitnytsia between 1 April 1928 and 1 February 1929; participants in the discussion came from other parts of the world, including Galicia, as well as Canada. In June and July 1931, a series of discussion articles on whether the Women's Section should be liquidated raised many of the same points.

[38] Matthew Popowich edited Holos robitnytsi, while the editors of Robitnytsia were Myroslav Irchan, Mykhailo Lenartovych, Petro Prokopchuk and Petro Chaikivsky; see Petro Kravchuk, Piatdesiat rokiv sluzhinnia narodu: Do istorii ukrainskoi narodnoi presy v Kanadi (Toronto 1957), 147-59. On the leadership role played by men in the Women's Section and its branches, and on appeals for male assistance, see "Tovaryshi, dopomozhit svoim tovaryshkam!" Robitnytsia 3, no. 17 (1 S 1926): 9-10; "Konferentsiia zhinok-robitnyts," Robitnytsia 5, no. 4 (15 F 1928): 97-8; M. Popovych, "Pochatok nashoi zhinochoi organizatsii ta ii zhurnalu," Robitnytsia 6, nos. 6-7 (15 Mr-1 Ap 1929): 162-5; M.Ch., "A shcho skazhut chlenkyni na tse?" Robitnytsia 8, no. 11 (1 Je 1931): 10-11; "XII zizd TURFDim i pratsia Zhinsektsii," Robitnytsia 8, no. 13 (1 Jl 1931): 2-5; and letter, Member, Saskatoon, "Dopomozhit nam, zhinkam, staty svidomishymy," Robitnytsia 13, no. 2 (15 Ja 1936): 16-7.

[39] For a very traditionalist view of women, in which only mothers can raise sons for the struggle, and where wives are the moral support and strength of their husbands, see M. Irchan, "Spomyn," Holos robitnytsi 1, no. 7 (Jl 1923): 2-3.

[40] See, for example, "Dbaimo pro vykhovannia nashykh ditei," *Holos robitnytsi* 1, no. 8 (Ag 1923): 1-2; Question, "Iak vyiavliaietsia zahnyvannia burzhuazii u ii filmakh," *Robitnytsia* 7, no. 13 (1 Jl 1930): 28-9; S. Chopovyk, "Vykhovuimo ditei u kliasovomu dusi," *Robitnytsia* 12, no. 9 (1 My 1935): 23; "Pro vykhovannia menshykh i bilshykh ditei," *Robitnytsia* 5, no. 7 (1 Ap 1928): 209-13; "Nashe maibutnie," *Robitnytsia* 5, no. 15 (1 Ag 1928): 449; "Pid uvahu materiam, batkam i organizatsiiam," *Robitnytsia* 4, no. 7 (1 Ap 1927): 193-4; "Vykhovuite svoikh ditei," *Robitnytsia* 3, no. 12 (15 Je 1926): 1; I. Viktor, "Pamiataimo pro molod," *Robitnytsia* 3, no. 18 (15 S 1926): 8-12; and "Riatuite svoikh ditei!" *Robitnytsia* 1, no. 14 (1 Oc 1924): 1-2. The last article, unlike the others, included alienation from and shame of the Ukrainian language and their parents among the undesirable consequences of children's street education.

[41] An example of the broad outreach by organized progressive women, as part of an international community in which class and not Ukrainianness constituted the unifying and motivating factor, was their aid to Franco's victims in the Spanish Civil War.

[42] The importance to an organization of self-education by its members and of control over the content and direction of enlightenment can be seen in the outlook and programs of the UWAC. The national executive has attempted to assert its views and impose uniformity through the UWAC page in *Ukrainskyi holos*, circulars, speaker tours and special lectures (like those printed for Mothers' Day in 1931 and for Lesia Ukrainka's jubilee in 1971). Women have been constantly urged to read to improve themselves, while October was designated book month, when the national executive both suggested appropriate literature and encouraged reading as a means of broadening women's horizons and Ukrainian consciousness.

[43] See, for example, letter, "Ukrainske zhinotstvo! Vpered!" *Ukrainskyi holos* (14 Ja 1925): 6; Savelia Stechyshyn, "Soiuz ukrainok Ameryky i Kanady," *Ukrainskyi holos* (29 Jl 1925): 4-5; Savelia Stechyshyn, "Pro orhanizatsiiu," *Ukrainskyi holos* (4 Jl 1928): 11; Mariia Dyma, "Zhinochi organizatsii," *Kanadiiskyi ukrainets* (22 Ja 1930): 4; Anna Basaraba, "Robim dalshi kroky na shliakhu orhanizuvannia ukr. nats. zhinotstva," *Novyi shliakh* (27 Je 1933): 2; Anastaziia Ukrainets, "Zavdannia ukrainskoi zhinky v Kanadi," *Novyi shliakh* (13 Ag 1935): 6; O.Z., "Zavdannia ukrainskoi zhinky," *Novyi shliakh* (19 Oc 1937): 11; and V. Babiak, "Spovnim materynske zavdannia," *Novyi shliakh* (8 F 1938): 6. Mothering, like public activism, had a militancy in UWOC propaganda that was lacking in UWAC attitudes.

[44] These were concerns of the UWAC in particular; see, for example, Savelia Stechyshyn, "Pro obrazovannia divchat," *Ukrainskyi holos* (23 Ja 1924): 5; and for a later period, when women were urged to modernize their homes so that their children would not be ashamed, see "Nashi cherhovi zavdannia," *Ukrainskyi holos* (30 D 1936): 11. On the UWAC's work in the area of home economics and health (in 1930 it was instrumental in the appointment of a rural Ukrainian public health nurse), see Kohuska, *Pivstolittia na hromadskii nyvi*, 628-33.

[45] For a concise statement of the involuntary nature of membership in the Ukrainian nation, in which the blood tie and its inescapable obligations supersede religious, class and political differences, see "Desiat narodnykh zapovidei dlia kozhdoho ukraintsia," Kanadiiskyi ukrainets (28 Ja 1925): 4.

[46] Anna Bumbak, "Our Attitude Towards Mixed Marriage," Nasha doroha 15, no. 3 (Jl-S 1984): 25-7, refers to an unidentified UCWL branch where sixty of one hundred members had children in mixed marriages, and of those sixty, only twenty attended the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

[47] On intermarriage, see o. Dr. A. Redkevych, Moderne supruzhe i kontrolia porodu (Calgary 1927), 13-20; A.V., "Svidoma zhinka," Ukrainskyi holos (14 Oc 1931): 11; "Mishani podruzhzha," Ukrainskyi holos (23 My 1934): 9; Petro I. Lypovyi, "Mishani podruzhzha," Ukrainskyi holos (6 D 1944): 7; o. T. Minenko, "Mishani podruzhzhia, iak rozsadnyk vidchuzhennia vid ukrainskoho suspilstva i tserkvy," Promin 15, no. 5 (My 1974): 2-5; Hanna Ianishevska, "Do problemy mishanykh podruzh," Promin 15, no. 12 (D 1974): 1-2; Khrystyna Mulkevych, "Problemy ukrainskoi rodyny," Nasha doroha 11, no. 3 (Jl-S 1980): 2-4; Olha Savaryn, "Ukrainski podruzhzhia u vilnykh krainakh svitu," Nasha doroha 14, no. 3 (Ap-Je 1983): 9-10; and Petro Savaryn, "Metody zberezhennia ukrainskoi substantsii," Nasha doroha 15, no. 1 (Ja-Mr 1984): 6-7. Ironically, nationalist women's great interwar heroine, Anna Yonker, was married to a non-Ukrainian (a Dutchman).

[48] Possibly the best statement on motherhood, both as a manual for the masses and as an example of organizational thinking, is the UWAC booklet, Na storozhi kultury (Winnipeg 1947). Prepared as an inspirational and practical guide for Ukrainian Canadian women "to help the home raise youth as worthy citizens of Canada and true children of the Ukrainian people" (3), it demonstrates the continuity in the UWAC's propaganda and programs from the interwar to the postwar period. For articles on motherhood, see the women's pages in the nationalist press and the organizational magazines, Zhinochyi svit, Promin and Nasha doroha.

[49] One of the major organizational activities of nationalist women's organizations has been involvement with youth - as teachers and as leaders, as a source of funds and materials - for the youth associations affiliated with their parent bodies, kindergartens, Sunday schools, catechism classes, ridna shkola and vacation camps.

[50] Ukrainian material culture has been another major concern of Ukrainian women's organizations with the establishment of museums in several major cities initially to preserve "authentic" handicrafts and other artifacts from Ukraine but increasingly also to depict the history of Ukrainian settlement in Canada. The most ambitious undertaking is the UWAC's Ukrainian Museum of Canada (1941) in Saskatoon. Besides courses in embroidery and Easter egg decorating, women's organizations have also published design books and patterns adaptable to contemporary clothing. The UWAC was the impetus behind Savella Stechishin's Traditional Ukrainian Cookery (Winnipeg 1957), into its eleventh edition in 1980.

[51] Specifically on the physical appearance of the Ukrainian home and its Ukrainian atmosphere, see "Zhinka, a narodnia svidomist," Kanadiiskyi ukrainets (10 Jl 1929): 11; "Ukrainska zhinka, berezhy svoiu kulturu!" Ukrainskyi holos (6 Ap 1927): 5; Pani Madiuk, "Iakim povynen ukrainskyi dim," Ukrainskyi holos (22 F 1928): 11; S. Bubniuk, "Zavdannia suchasnoi zhinky," Ukrainskyi holos (6 Mr 1929): 11; and Stefaniia Vavryniuk, "Zatryuimo svoiu kulturu," Ukrainskyi holos (10 Ap 1929): 11. For contemporary advice on interior decorating based on the fashions and researches of the larger society, see Savelia Stechyshyn, "Uriadzhennia i prykrasa domu," Ukrainskyi holos (6 D 1933): 11, (13 D 1933): 11 and (20 D 1933): 11.

[52] Oleksandra Myndiuk, "Den materi," Nasha doroha 2, no. 2 (Ap-Je 1971): 57-8. See also, for example, Ivan Kishynskyi, "Poklin tobi, ukrainska mamo!" Novyi shliakh (5 My 1936): 7; Anna Mariia Baran, "Zavdannia ukrainky chlenkyni LUKZh," in Iuvileina knyha ukraintsiv katolykiv Saskachevanu, 188-90; Oksana Roslak, "The Role of Ukrainian Women in the Education of Children," Nasha doroha 1, no. 3 (Jl-S 1970): 138-9; and "V Den materi," Nasha doroha 10, no. 2 (Ap-Je 1979): 1-2.

[53] In 1981, 48.1 per cent of Ukrainian Canadians spoke Ukrainian as their mother tongue; only 9.4 per cent of those were under twenty-five. That same year, 30.0 per cent of Ukrainian Canadians reported Ukrainian Catholic and 18.6 per cent Orthodox affiliations, with slightly less than half of the former and slightly more than half of the latter over the age of forty-five. See Bohdan S. Kordan, Ukrainians and the 1981 Canada Census: A Data Handbook, Research Report No. 9 (Edmonton 1985), tables 4.3, 4.4, 5.1 and 5.4. See also Bohdan Bociurkiw, "Ethnic Identification and Attitudes of University Students of Ukrainian Descent: The University of Alberta Case Study," Slavs in Canada 3 (1971): 15-110.

[54] See, for example, letter, Bienfait, "Sviato materi," Novyi shliakh (14 Je 1938): 11.

[55] M. Zolotukha, "Shliakh natsionalistky," Novyi shliakh (16 Mr 1937): 12. In emigration, Ukrainian women in UWOC ranks were told, they would help their nation's liberation struggles not by "moral" ties with organizations that stood for submission and opportunism (a veiled reference to the UWAC's links with the Women's Union), or by physical sacrifice like Olha Basarab, but with material assistance and propagandizing the National Idea; see Anastaziia Pavlychenko, "Borotba natsionalnykh idei i ukrainske zhinotstvo Kanady," Novyi shliakh (28 My 1935): 6.

[56] See I.P. Svitnyk, "Rolia ukrainskoi materi u vykhovanniu ditei," Novyi shliakh (8 Ja 1931): 2-3; M. Huliai, "Mama natsionalistky," Novyi shliakh (7 D 1937): 6; and O. Zaiatseva, "Slovo do materei-ukrainok," Novyi shliakh (6 Oc 1936): 6. The UWAC occasionally seemed to endorse the totality of commitment in the UWOC message. Like the UWOC, for example, it reprinted an article from the Galician Zhinocha dolia on how German mothers raised their children, which concluded with the statement that Ukrainian mothers too must teach their children not only to love their country but also to die for it; see "Iak nimetski

materi vykhovuiut svoikh ditei," Ukrainskyi holos (7 Oc 1936): 11 and Novyi shliakh (13 Oc 1936): 6. The Svityk article above was also reprinted in Ukrainskyi holos (27 N 1935): 11.

[57] See, in particular, the youth page in Novyi shliakh for information on the two schools. During the Second World War, the UWOC suggested that upon completing high school Ukrainian girls join the Canadian armed forces, thereby aiding Canada and obtaining experience useful for Ukraine; see M.G., "Zhinka v chasi viiny," Novyi shliakh (14 Mr 1942): 7.

[58] R.K., "Materiam pid uvahu," Novyi shliakh (10 Ag 1937): 11.

[59] Stephanie Sawchuk, "Our Women in Ukrainian and Canadian Life," in Ukrainian Canadian Committee, First All-Canadian Congress of Ukrainians in Canada, 163. See also, for example, Stepaniia Savchuk, "Bilshe ridnoho vykhovannia dlia nashykh ditei," Novyi shliakh (25 Ap 1942): 3; "Poklin materiam" and "Do matery," Novyi shliakh (9 My 1943): 5; and "Dbaimo pro osvitu ditei," Novyi shliakh (16 Je 1945): 3.

[60] Mariia Dyma, "Znachennia Komitetu ukrainok Kanady," in Komitet ukraintsiv Kanady, Druhyi vse-kanadiiskyi kongres ukraintsiv Kanady (Winnipeg [1946]), 34-6. In the same volume, see also Nataliia Kohuska, "Vooboroni prevaloho myra i prav liudyn" (59-62) and Mariia Dyma, "Pochatky i diialnist Komitetu ukrainok Kanady" (53-8).

[61] For an indication of the contemporary significance of Tweedsmuir's speech, see the articles in the nationalist press at the time of his death in February 1940. Paul Yuzyk's Ukrainian Canadians: Their Place and Role in Canadian Life (Toronto 1967), 85, illustrates its political use since.

[62] For the general community view that good Canadian citizenship and completeness as a human being had to rest on Ukrainian consciousness, see, for example, the official thinking represented in the editorial, "Moloda generatsiia," Ukrainskyi holos (25 F 1925): 4; and more recently, the communication from UCC headquarters, "KUK u spravi ukrainskoi movy," Nasha doroha 1, no. 2 (Ap-Je 1970): n.p.

[63] See, for example, Savelia Stechyshyn, "Do organizatsii ukrainskoho zhinotstva," Ukrainskyi holos (1 Ap 1925): 4; St. Bubniukova, "Zavdannia ukrainskoi materi na emigratsii," Ukrainskyi holos (3 Mr 1933): 11; "Z nahody Sviata materi," Novyi shliakh (7 My 1935): 5; Natalia Kohuska, "Woman's Part in the Life of a Nation," in Ukrainian Canadian Committee, First All-Canadian Congress of Ukrainians in Canada, 156-60; Stephanie Sawchuk, "Our Women in Ukrainian and Canadian Life" (163) in the preceding volume; "Za pravylne vykhovannia," Novyi shliakh (24 Mr 1945): 3; the speech by Nadia Malaniuk in Natalia Lewenec-Kohuska, Forty Years in Retrospect, 1926-1966, trans. Sonia Cipywnyk (Hamilton 1967), 23; "Zavdannia ukrainskykh materei," Novyi shliakh (2 Je 1945): 3; Ksenia Turko, "Nasha dytyna maie pravo na ukrainske vykhovannia," Nasha doroha 11, no. 1 (Ja-Mr 1980): 7-8; and Chrystyna Mulkevych, "Cultural Development in a Child," Nasha doroha 12, no. 4 (Oc-D 1981): 23-4.

CHAPTER IX

PRINCESS OLHA AND THE UKRAINIAN MOTHER IN CANADA (PART 2)

Implicit in the material and moral support of Ukrainian institutions in Canada, as the basis of group survival, has been the recognition that Canadian democracy and socioeconomic opportunities make such support possible. Moreover, they oblige Ukrainian Canadians to take advantage of conditions unavailable to Ukrainians elsewhere. This obligation has been made explicit in the moral and material aid to be extended to Ukraine and Ukrainians abroad.[1] While their own leaders have insisted that Ukrainian Canadians use their rights and privileges as citizens of a "free country" and their relative prosperity to help a beleaguered homeland, Ukrainian leaders in that homeland have in the past equally looked across the ocean for help.

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Women's organizations have been responsible for much of Ukrainian Canadian community fund-raising: holding bazaars, teas and suppers; organizing concerts and dances; and preparing Ukrainian cookbooks, Easter eggs and embroidered items for sale to an all-Canadian market. These activities represent the transfer of women's traditional "female" functions from the home into the community. Most of the money has stayed in Canada. It has helped build, furnish and maintain churches, narodni domy, bursy, and hospitals and orphanages operated by the Sisters Servants.[2] It has paid teachers, financed program materials and provided facilities for youth organizations, ridni shkoly, Sunday schools, catechism classes and kindergartens. It has established scholarships for higher education. It has supported general community projects like the Shevchenko monument in Winnipeg, and special women's projects like the UWAC museum in Saskatoon and the Lesia Ukrainka statue in Toronto. It has bought flowers and held baby and bridal showers for an organization's members.[3]

During the Second World War, money raised went to the Canadian Red Cross and other mainstream ventures as the contribution of organized Ukrainian Canadian women to the common war effort on the home front; it went also to letter-writing campaigns and parcels for Ukrainian Canadian servicemen overseas, and after the war to hospitalized Ukrainian veterans in Canada.[4] The war was a catalyst both to outreach beyond the Ukrainian Canadian community and to growth within the organized Ukrainian Canadian women's movement. In addition to the creation of the UCWC, women's increased wartime responsibilities and a growing feeling among a second generation that parish work alone was too confining prompted the national organization of Ukrainian Catholic women in 1944.[5] Since 1945 participation in mainstream projects and fund drives has increased. Although all nationalist women's organizations have had a charitable component, the social conscience of Ukrainian Catholic women has been most broadly based. What began as a "fasting lunch" to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the 1933 famine in Soviet Ukraine, for example, became a hand extended to the hungry and oppressed throughout the world, with much of the money raised going to Mother Teresa in India.[6]

Besides funding community work in Canada and supporting mainstream activities, nationalist women's organizations have also extended material aid to Ukraine. In the interwar years, for example, the UWOC launched projects like the Ukrainian First Aid in readiness for the expected military campaign,[7] and the UWAC raised money for ridni shkoly and other cultural-educational institutions, war invalids and flood victims in Galicia. Its members also took collections for Olha Petliura, widow of the assassinated ex-president of the Ukrainian People's Republic, and for the writer Olha Kobylianska.[8] They answered appeals from the Ukrainian women's press in Galicia for financial assistance; and they raised funds, again responding to appeals from organized Ukrainian women in Europe, for them to represent Ukrainian women and their cause before world forums. In fact, the request of the Ukrainian National Women's Council in Prague for money to send a delegate to the International Council of Women (ICW) meeting in Washington had prompted the first concerted campaign by Ukrainian women in Canada, acknowledging their sisterhood with Ukrainian women in Europe, by the women who, in the campaign's wake, established the UWAC.[9]

A major event in interwar Ukrainian Canadian community life was the 1929 tour of Olena Kysilewska, activist in the Women's Union, editor of the woman's journal Zhinocha dolia, and member of the Polish senate. At meetings across Canada this "great Daughter of Ukraine" was extolled by Ukrainian Canadian women as an inspiration and living link to their European sisters and the cause they championed.[10] She appealed especially to women within the UWAC, which perceived itself and was perceived in turn by the Women's Union as its Canadian arm, but the Catholic senator and activist also touched Ukrainian Catholic women. In

Mundare, for example, a local Women's Union was created under her stimulus to broader outreach, remaining outside the Orthodox UWAC network.[11] The UWAC's ties with the Ukrainian women's movement were strengthened by the visits of its representatives abroad, particularly attendance at the First Ukrainian Women's Congress held under the auspices of the Women's Union in Stanislaviv in 1934, and by personal ties with Kharytia Kononenko, who on her return to Europe had become involved in the organization of village women in Galicia.[12] The decision at Stanislaviv to organize Ukrainian women internationally led to the formation of the Association of Ukrainian Women of the World in Lviv in 1937, and the UWAC accepted its invitation to represent Ukrainian women in Canada.[13]

Alone and with their community at large, nationalist women's organizations also used Canada's guarantees of freedom of speech and assembly to publicize the plight of Ukrainians in interwar Poland and Soviet Ukraine. In 1928 and 1930, for example, Ukrainian women's organizations in Winnipeg staged a mass meeting to protest Polish "pogroms" in Galicia.[14] At its annual convention in 1931 the UWAC passed resolutions protesting both Polish pacification and the Soviet purges.[15] In 1935 the UWOC condemned, as an example of the uncivilized force by which Poland maintained its lordship over its Ukrainian population, its refusal to permit delegates from the Women's Union to participate in the international women's congress in Istanbul.[16] And when the Polish government dissolved the Women's Union in 1938, the UWAC directed its branches to organize public meetings to draft protest resolutions, and it sent letters to the governments of Canada, Britain and Poland as well as to the League of Nations.[17]

Protest meetings and resolutions confined to the group served little practical purpose. Far more important were efforts to acquaint others with Ukrainians' predicament and enlist them in the Ukrainian cause. The obligation to be ambassadors for an enslaved Ukrainian people has meant that the peculiar Ukrainian needs that created Ukrainian women's organizations outside the mainstream organized women's movement in Canada made the latter's courting equally necessary. The UWAC, for example, appealed to the women of Canada, "who cherish peace, and who are naturally gifted to feel the sufferings of others," to protest the atrocities of the interwar Polish regime in Galicia; and in 1930 it sent a telegram to the ICW protesting the Polish lobby against the accreditation of Ukrainian delegates.[18] In 1935 and again in 1937, the national convention of the UWOC recommended establishing ties with the leaders of non-Ukrainian women's organizations, the better to educate them in Ukrainian affairs and aspirations.[19] Evidence that such ties were effective, Anna Yonker's personal influence with members of the National Council of Women (NCW) and ICW garnered their support and sympathy for interwar Ukraine.[20]

An important tool in gaining access to mainstream women and thus their organizations, nationalist women believed, were their handicrafts. Since early in the century, Anglo-Canadian women had admired the beauty and workmanship of Ukrainian embroidery and Easter eggs in particular, supporting exhibitions and making purchases. In criticizing Ukrainian Canadian women for forgetting their arts, community activists lamented the loss not only for the national indifference it showed and its blow to cultural survival but also for its effect on Ukrainian Canadians' image. From the beginning an important function of women's handicrafts had been to raise the self-esteem of their creators and to win Ukrainian

Canadian women prestige in English eyes; they were also perceived as a way to attract non-Ukrainian women and thereby publicize both Ukrainian culture and national aspirations.[21] It was at a concert and Ukrainian crafts display organized by the Mohylianky for delegates at the NCW meeting in Saskatoon in 1929, for example, that the UWAC first made contact with that organization. The UWAC applied to join the NCW in 1933, as a platform from which to publicize Ukraine, but was not admitted until 1939.[22]

But by themselves, Ukrainians' songs, embroidery and dances would not convert mainstream women to political support of the Ukrainian cause. Ukrainian women could better ensure their support and sympathy by participating in their organizations and projects, earning reputations as good Canadian citizens. Emphasizing their same love for freedom and democracy, and helping the Canadian Red Cross in wartime, for example, would dispose mainstream women more favourably to Ukrainian women. The president of the UCWC made the same argument in reiterating the necessity of propaganda after the war; participation in mainstream women's organizations, she stated, enabled Ukrainian women to meet the wives of influential men and through them influence Ukrainian affairs.[23]

The increased participation of nationalist women in mainstream Canadian and international women's organizations since the Second World War reflects both general integration and a less parochial outlook and the persisting exploitation of such forums for Ukrainian purposes. The UCWL, for example, joined the World Union of Catholic Women's Organizations in 1957. In 1983, when the association held its assembly in Canada, the UCWL not only helped host and participated in its deliberations but also used the opportunity to inform those present about the

Ukrainian rite and religious culture, religious oppression in the Soviet Union, and Ukrainian arts and crafts (with gifts of embroidered bookmarks for all delegates).[24] The UWAC has been equally proud of its performance on the NCW and ICW, particularly its occupation of executive positions. It, too, has remembered its obligation to Ukraine. In 1976, for example, when the ICW met in Vancouver, the UWAC, as one of the host organizations asked to describe its activities, discussed Ukrainian culture and Russification and political oppression in Soviet Ukraine; it also formally presented its resolution from International Women's Year protesting the treatment of female dissidents in Soviet Ukraine and calling upon all women in the free world to stand in their defence.[25]

During the Second World War a spokesman for the UCC specifically praised the Ukrainian Canadian women representing their organizations on Red Cross executives for the respect they received.[26] Both women's organizations and the nationalist Ukrainian Canadian community in general have regarded this mainstream involvement, particularly in prestigious executive positions, as a positive reflection not only on the individuals themselves but also on their respective organizations, all Ukrainian Canadian women, and the Ukrainian Canadian group itself. Perceived as examples of "success," progress, upward mobility and integration, they are proof of Ukrainians' abilities and indicate how the larger society has recognized their worth.[27]

While nationalist women's organizations came to see formal participation in mainstream women's organizations as essential to the Ukrainian cause, organized progressive women had from the beginning been urged to step outside narrow ethnic boundaries. In fact, outreach to establish bonds with other class-conscious women and identify with the workers' movement was deemed a major responsibility of women's branches of the ULFTA and their members, one whose urgency increased as the Depression worsened, and one where the women were constantly exhorted to atone for their deficiencies.[28] However, although Ukrainianness in the nationalist sense was not a factor in either the organization or activities of progressive women, it was by no means irrelevant. For one thing, their Ukrainian heritage gave Ukrainian progressives an intimacy with events in the Soviet Union that non-Ukrainians in the workers' movement lacked. Progressive mothers, for example, were advised of the importance of teaching their children Ukrainian as one of the languages of the Great Revolution and a new proletarian literature and culture.[29] And despite the ideological rift and conflicting attitudes toward Soviet Ukraine that divided progressives and nationalists, they shared something of a common ground in interwar Western Ukraine, although disagreeing on the political solution to its predicament. Like the nationalists, progressives collected funds to help their "captive brothers and sisters" and the victims of floods and other natural disasters, and they protested Poland's treatment of its Ukrainian citizens.[30] The interwar Association to Aid the Liberation Movement in Western Ukraine was succeeded after June 1941 by the Association to Aid the Fatherland as progressives exploited the Soviet Union's new status as Canada's wartime ally to extend material and moral support. The role of progressive women in these ventures (and in the Canadian war effort), like that of their nationalist counterparts in their community, was to raise funds, knit socks and prepare parcels for overseas.[31]

The "captive brothers and sisters" to whom the interwar progressive woman's attention was directed, however, were specifically those who were struggling not only against nature and foreign tyranny (in anticipation of unification with Soviet Ukraine) but also against Ukrainian bourgeois influences in their midst. As Ukrainian women who were conscious members of their class, the first target of women within ULFTA ranks was the great majority of Ukrainian working and farm women outside their organization; their second target was the nationalist women's organizations which competed for the same audience. Just as all nationalist activity was deemed to serve the socioeconomic ambitions of its leaders, camouflaging monetary greed under patriotic slogans, so were the Women's Union in Galicia and the UWAC agents of capitalism seeking to distract Ukrainian working and peasant/farm women from their class interests. The 1934 congress in Stanislaviv, for example, was criticized for its elitism and warped priorities, particularly "Peasant Woman's Day" when peasant women paraded in their national costumes in front of the ladies (pani) who cared nothing for the marchers themselves, only for their clothes.[32] With deepening domestic and international crises in the 1930s, however, organized progressive women moderated their condemnation of the UWAC's superficiality and narrow and selfish Ukrainianism. They both called upon the UWAC to address the question of economic survival facing Ukrainian working and farm women in Canada and allowed the possibility of cooperation on issues whose importance transcended political differences: Ukrainians' economic struggle in Canada, the struggle against the oppression and menace of war that threatened Western Ukraine, the struggle against fascist designs on Soviet Ukraine.[33]

The outcome of the Second World War in Eastern Europe, with Western Ukrainian territories absorbed into the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist

Republic, eliminated the need for activity by progressive women on behalf of compatriots under foreign and bourgeois rule. It also eliminated areas for potential cooperation or shared concerns between progressives and nationalists. How women in the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians (AUUC), the ULFTA's successor, have interpreted their role and responsibilities since 1945 reflects both a continuation of and an evolution from their interwar emphases on the Canadian and international workers', women's and peace movements.

Involvement in these activities through mass meetings, petitions and the like is now defined in terms of the Ukrainian Canadian progressive woman's dedication to world peace (now against nuclear war instead of fascism), equality, progress, democracy and human dignity. These values correspond to the progressive contribution to the Canadian mosaic, and if stripped of their specific progressive meaning, possess a universality with which it is difficult to quarrel. They also contain the progressive woman's definition of good citizenship, both past and present, and as both a Canadian and a member of the world community. On the fiftieth anniversary of the organized progressive women's movement, one of its activists wrote:

> Together in organized fashion, we acquainted ourselves with the freedom-loving traditions and cultural heritage of the Ukrainian people, acquired ideological, national and social consciousness, an understanding of the mutual interests of all who labour. We learned to live and to struggle for our dignity as human beings, for equality in the general struggle for human rights, for democracy, peace and progress. While on this path we cultivated our cultural heritage, our love for the people from which we came and respect for other people. In this spirit we brought up and continue to bring up our children.[34]

The emphasis in progressive propaganda and programs on women's role as transmitters and preservers of Ukrainian culture was a postwar phenomenon. The shift from an overwhelmingly political and ideological focus to one that was more cultural (although organized progressive women have always had a Ukrainian cultural component to their activities) signalled perhaps a declining politicization and ideological fervour in progressive ranks as well as the need to reacquaint a younger generation with its heritage.[35]

Organized progressive women have continued to acknowledge the role of the home in rearing progressive youth; to stress the necessity of formal work with their parent body's youth wing; and to agitate for the intensification and expansion of organizational activity, cultural-educational work among their own members, and the training of quality leadership cadres. Like their nationalist counterparts, they have also become increasingly active in outside organizations, like the Canadian Congress of Women and the Women's International Democratic Federation; and like their nationalist counterparts, they have been proud of their representatives and the mainstreaming that participation represents.[36]

The consequences of the Second World War for Ukraine affected nationalist women entirely differently than they did their progressive counterparts. Whereas before the war nationalists had kept in close contact with Western Ukraine and been able to extend material as well as moral support, they were now limited to a propagandistic role in the West against Soviet domination of their homeland. Practical assistance, however, could be and was extended to Ukrainians in displaced person camps in western Europe. Nationalist women's organizations, for example, added their voice to Ukrainian Canadian protests against forced repatriation as well as for the admission of Ukrainian refugees to Canada. They contributed to the Ukrainian Canadian Relief Fund, sponsored camp kindergartens and sent food and clothing. They paid particular attention to the plight of single mothers, widows and orphans, not only with help in the camps but also with efforts to bring them to Canada. The UWAC national executive, for example, urged its rural branches to locate local families prepared to sponsor their applications. Nationalist women's organizations welcomed the new arrivals, especially women, and sought to ease their adjustment with English classes and advice on Canada.[37] In discussing that period, the official history of the UWAC recalls emerging tensions as the "political" newcomers criticized the overly cultural-educational orientation of the earlier "economic" immigration that it in particular represented. The UWAC's emphasis in response on "the country we freely chose to settle" reflects its constituents' psychological identification with Canadian nationbuilding.[38]

Ukrainian Canadian women have continued to assist Ukrainians in the diaspora. The UCWL in Manitoba, for example, has sent money to needy students in Argentina and Brazil, and to the Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate (relocated from Galicia) in Rome.[39] Nationalist women's organizations have also continued to court mainstream support, protest conditions in Soviet Ukraine and monitor media reports for misrepresentation of the situation there. The following resolution, passed by the UWAC at its golden jubilee convention, reaffirms, by neglecting the oppression of Soviet Ukrainian women as women, the dominance of national over gender issues in nationalist thinking:

> In particular, we sympathize with the fate of Ukrainian women and mothers living in Ukraine, who contrary to the laws of God and man, must suffer the indignity of being deprived of their religion, church, historical traditions, customs and of the opportunity to mold their children's souls....[The UWAC] appeals in this era of human rights to all women in the free world to stand up in defence of those who have been wronged

> and asserts that in the interests of world peace, every nation should have the right to cultural and creative self-expression and the opportunity to develop its national life in an independent state of its own.[40]

Contemporary Ukrainian Canadian women, a UCWC spokesperson stated in 1984, have a moral responsibility toward both their sisters in Ukraine and their pioneer women's organizations in Canada.[41] At their respective conventions, nationalist women's organizations rededicate themselves to raising good Ukrainian children; furthering their own spiritual growth and Ukrainian consciousness; preserving the Ukrainian language, culture and religion; training youth; and publicizing the Ukrainian cause. Courses to improve members' Ukrainian language skills and to instruct them and other women (Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian) in Ukrainian cooking and handicrafts attest to the assimilation of Ukrainian Canadian women to the larger society but also to the popularization of Ukrainian culture in the mainstream.

The Soviet occupation of Western Ukraine had also suppressed the organized women's movement in Galicia and thus ended the contacts of Ukrainian Canadian women with it. The presence of interwar female activists among the displaced persons, however, helped stimulate the large-scale organization of Ukrainian women in the diaspora, and in 1948 the World Federation of Ukrainian Women's Organizations (WFUWO) was formed to strengthen and coordinate the political, cultural-educational and social work of Ukrainian women outside the Soviet bloc. Both the UCWL and the UWOC were charter members, but the UWAC, in contrast to its close interwar involvement with the international Ukrainian women's movement, did not join.[42] The president of the WFUWO until her death in 1956 was Olena Kysilewska.

Kysilewska had immigrated to Canada in 1948. The arrival of prominent figures from the interwar Ukrainian women's movement in Galicia brought the "Great Women" of Ukraine to Canadian soil; with their entry into organized women's life they became living links to the struggles in the homeland and catalysts to renewed activity by Ukrainian Canadian women. Irene Pawlikowska, for example, joined the UCWL, and Olena Zalizniak (a WFUWO president) became a member of the UWOC.[43] The peculiar evolution of Ukrainian women's organizational life in Canada, however, forced the newcomers to make previously uncontemplated choices. While some with former Women's Union ties (like Zalizniak) and sympathizers of the right-wing Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) in Galicia would find their niche in the UWOC, other OUN sympathizers, reflecting the rift in its ranks, established their own affiliate of the more extremist League for Ukraine's Liberation, and others from the Women's Union tradition rejected the UWOC's politics. The Women's Union had been a broad coalition in which religion, to an overwhelmingly Greek Catholic membership, was irrelevant. But in Canada, the two largest nationalist women's organizations mirrored the Catholic-Orthodox split dividing the Ukrainian Canadian community. The Orthodox UWAC, arguably least affected by the displaced person immigration,[44] was a less comfortable home for these women than the UCWL, whose more aggressive Ukrainianism since the Second World War undoubtedly testifies to their impact. The war did, however, give the UWAC its personal martyr: shot by the Germans in 1943, Kharytia Kononenko was added to the list of Great Ukrainian Women honoured annually by the UWAC.[45]

As a figurehead and symbol, in both life and death, Kysilewska was by far the most important Ukrainian woman to come to Canada in the wake of the Second World War. Organized Ukrainian women representing both the UCWC and the WFUWO, for example, erected a monument at her grave in Ottawa to pay homage to this "servant of her people."[46] Kysilewska also played a role in the self-legitimization of Ukrainian Canadians in the Canadian context as the esteem with which the former senator was received in mainstream circles brought reflected glory to Ukrainian Canadian women and the Ukrainian Canadian group. In 1951, Kysilewska was acclaimed by the Catholic Church Extension Society as one of the "builders of Canada."[47]

The group function that Kysilewska served in bolstering Ukrainian Canadians' self-esteem in Canada has been performed by other women as well. They have been used in the organizational press both as evidence of progress and integration and as examples for other Ukrainian Canadian women to follow. In 1923, when Mary Dyma, the future first president of both the UCWL and the UCWC, became the first Ukrainian woman to receive a university degree in Canada, her achievement was proclaimed as a turning point for Ukrainian Canadian womanhood on its road to enlightenment, progress and equality with others.[48] Savella Stechishin, when she received her B.A. in 1930, was acclaimed not only for her educational achievement but also for her example in successfully combining her studies with motherhood and community work.[49] Not only was the 1956 recipient of a university scholarship herself praised and held up as an example, but so was her mother, for having raised good Ukrainian daughters who were "living proof that those who are interested in Ukrainian matters, speak Ukrainian, and go to their church are not hindered in their education and success."[50] Evidence of the status that academic success came to represent, good mothers increasingly raised not only good Ukrainians but also university graduates who embraced professional careers, as a woman's worth came to be measured by the Canadian socio-economic success of her children and grandchildren.[51]

Nationalist women's magazines also feature women, unlike the UWAC representatives on the NCW and the ICW or the UCWL representatives on the World Union of Catholic Women's Organizations, who have achieved prominence in mainstream circles for non-Ukrainian-related activities. They include, for example, the UCWL's pride in the political and career achievements of "its" Catherine Chichak, Progressive Conservative MLA in Alberta, or of "its" Mary Wawrykow, family court judge in Manitoba. To the nationalist women's organizations that exploit and publicize such achievers, their accomplishments are sources of a feeling of self-worth and belonging as Canadians. This sense of self-worth and belonging has been reinforced by the fact that the mainstream society, particularly in the prairie provinces, has acknowledged nationalist organizational figures as builders of their common society. On the seventy-fifth anniversary of the creation of the province of Saskatchewan, for example, Savella Stechishin was one of seventy-five Saskatchewan women profiled in a special anniversary publication.[53] Such gestures - or the national recognition contained in Canadian Centennial medals[54] - represent to organized Ukrainian Canadian women not just the mainstream's acceptance of Ukrainians' partnership in nationbuilding but in the process - because these women are Ukrainian Canadian community activists as well as public figures - the legitimization of the Ukrainian particularity.

Further evidence of "Canadianization" within nationalist women's organizations lies in the evolution of their retrospective identification with mainstream Canadian women and the mainstream women's movement.

Whereas before the Second World War, for example, it was unusual to find heroines of Canadian history in the women's pages of the nationalist press, it has not been unusual since. Promin, for example, has carried articles on Marie Hebert, Adelaide Hoodless, Lady Aberdeen, the "famous five" of the 1929 Persons Case, Agnes Macphail and Cairine Wilson.[55] While these women do not perform the function of the "Great Women" of Ukrainian history, they represent the internalization by Ukrainian Canadian women of the Canadian women's movement (including its ideals, struggles and achievements) as part of their history as Canadian women. At the same time, their own Ukrainian Canadian women's movement has become part of the larger mainstream phenomenon. In 1966, for example, nationalist Ukrainian Canadian women's organizations celebrated, as their legacy, the fiftieth anniversary of the granting of female suffrage in Manitoba, with the Ukrainian Women's Enlightenment Association established in Winnipeg in 1916 representing their role and participation. To do this required that the nativist attitudes of the crusade's Anglo-Canadian leaders toward Ukrainian women, as "foreigners," be ignored. A long-time UWAC activist, admitting that Ukrainian women had taken no part in the struggle for women's emancipation in Canada, attributed it to the demands that pioneering made on the time of new settlers.[56]

The educational and career successes offered as proof of integration and progress in the larger society, as examples for other Ukrainian Canadian women and girls, and as sources of collective pride, contain inherent tensions and contradictions from the standpoint of the raison d'être of nationalist women's organizations, group survival. The university graduate may not follow her mother's footsteps in traditional

Ukrainian Canadian women's organizations. Myrna Kostash, for example, featured in Promin for her university accomplishments,[57] rejected the establishment community and wrote All of Baba's Children. Moreover, a university degree implies a career; it is also for their careers that women like Mary Wawrykow receive recognition. To promote as models and sources of inspiration women who work outside the home challenges what nationalist women's organizations, in the name of Ukrainianness, have insisted is the primary responsibility of Ukrainian Canadian women, homemaking and motherhood.

That careers, education, the workplace and "Canadianization" in general have fulfilled the promise of Nasha Meri and Katie and alienated Ukrainian Canadian women from their community has been addressed by Ukrainian Canadian women's organizations. Bringing the great majority of unorganized women under their respective umbrellas has always been a preoccupation,[58] but attention since the Second World War has increasingly focused on attracting more, younger and working (including professional) women, whose interests and needs differ from those of organizations' current memberships. One response has been to create English-speaking branches.[59] Other suggestions have included cooking and embroidery classes, to be used as opportunities to introduce organizational matters; updating their buildings; revamping their programs, paying less attention perhaps to women's national responsibilities and more to daycares; and examining their kitchen image.[60]

Individuals have also begun to query and challenge women's subordinate role in organized Ukrainian community life. A Ukrainian Canadian woman addressing the WFUWO in 1983, for example, demanded the integration of women into community power structures and their participation in community decision-making processes. She deplored how Ukrainian Canadian women's organizations were attached to male "maternal" organizations which, through the UCC, had the authority to decide everything for everyone. She criticized, too, the compartmentalization of roles and contributions that made Shevchenko an all-Ukrainian hero while Olha Basarab (who died for all Ukrainians, not just women) had to be a female heroine. And she criticized women's stereotyped image and activities, where women worked and men played politics, particularly the money-raising functions that gave the male organizations their finances but which provided no mental stimulation.[61] In advocating change, the speaker implied that the status quo served an older generation. This raises the spectre that as younger, better-educated (often professional) women demand more equal participation in the formal life of their community and its power structures, the older, less-educated woman and housewife will be left behind, probably in the organizational kitchen, whether in separate women's organizations or in the general community. While class divisions have always existed within nationalist women's organizations in the distinction between the leadership elite and the mass of ordinary members, and generational differences have sparked the establishment of more than one new club,[62] Ukrainian Canadian women have not previously been divided over fundamentally different interpretations of their "proper sphere." The tensions that this conflict and identity crisis generate are reflected in organized women's attitudes toward their place in history.

The jab that without decades of money-making by Ukrainian Canadian women's organizations, their male "maternal" organizations would have had no finances, is significant. In their jubilee histories and frequent assessments of their aims and achievements, Ukrainian Canadian women's organizations have compensated for their lack of real power, although simultaneously expressing a genuine feeling of accomplishment, by extolling their role as builders, in a very concrete sense, of the Ukrainian Canadian community and thus of Canada. This view has also been voiced by Ukrainian men. A priest, for example, spoke of the women, wives and mothers in the UCWL who had not only given of their time, advice and money but had also, by their labours, made Canada stronger, more beautiful and richer; theirs was the type of work of which any state and nation could be proud.[63] Women, however, have been their own best defenders and apologists for the "women's" work that has been their contribution to Ukrainian Canadian community life. It was their labour that built and supported community institutions, paid their debts and funded community projects. Whether organized women wish now to malign and escape their traditional kitchen function or not, and regardless of criticisms that things of the mind and spirit got lost in the flurry of money-raising projects, it was that function that put the Ukrainian Canadian community where it is today. "It is the U.C.W.L.C. that has kept the Ukrainian Catholic Church of Canada, the strong and unified institution that it is today," said a delegate to the UCWL national convention in 1983:

> The Bishops have their role to play, but we, the faithful, have done even more than they to make the Ukrainian Catholic people of Canada feel and know that they are one.[64]

On the fortieth anniversary of the UCWL, Ukrainian Catholic women commended themselves for their "vital role" in the religious, cultural, educational and social life of Ukrainians in Canada and in the growth of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.[65] On the thirty-fifth anniversary of the UWAC, a spokesperson commended the organizational activities that "have definitely been great contributing factors to the tremendous gains the Ukrainian people made in Canada in every phase of life, raising their social, cultural and economic standards to a high level."[66] This sense of organized women's centrality to community growth and progress, on which their contribution to Canadian life hinges, exists, albeit with differences, among progressive women as well. How was it possible, an AUUC activist asked, that the thirty-fifth anniversary of the organized progressive women's movement could slip by unnoticed: "It should have been shouted from the housetops, considering that the women in the ranks of the AUUC have been its heart and soul for the past thirty-five years."[67] One of the movement's pioneers wrote that they, the grandmothers and grandfathers, had done their part in "making Canada a better place to live in for our children and grandchildren" and that now it was time for them to "take up the fight."[68] On their fortieth anniversary, another activist wrote:

> The history of the Women's Branches of the AUUC constitutes an integral part of the history of the development of Canada in this century....The economic development of Canada took place with the greatest acceleration in this century, and the Women's Branches of the AUUC have existed 40 of the 62 years of this period.
>
> The history of the Women's Branches of the ULFTA-AUUC, as a vital section of the progressive Ukrainian community in Canada, at the same time constitutes an important chapter in the history of the general Canadian labour movement.
>
> Only within such a concept can a proper evaluation of the contribution of Ukrainian workingwomen to the economic, political, cultural and social life of the Canadian people be given.[69]

For organized Ukrainian Canadian women in both nationalist and progressive traditions, this internalization of the missions of their respective communities has been done by legitimizing traditional "female" activities and traditional "female" roles performed through separate women's organizations. A genuine and positive expression of self-worth and value, by women who perceive themselves as full members of their community, it is also a rationalization of political powerlessness.

* * * * * * *

While Ukrainian Canadian organizational and community figures and "successes" in the larger Canadian society have supplemented the "Great Women" of Ukraine as models and sources of inspiration, and interwar activists immigrating as displaced persons brought the "Great Women" of Ukraine to Canadian soil, their nineteenth-century predecessors have also been brought to Canada, to play new symbolic roles that reflect Ukrainians' Canadian experience as well as their old-country ties. Statues of Lesia Ukrainka stand in High Park, Toronto, and on the campus of the University of Saskatchewan in Saskatoon. The first, erected by the UCWC in International Women's Year, honours the centennary of the birth of the poetess who symbolizes "the humanitarian and freedom loving spirit of Ukrainians."[70] The second, a gift from the people of Soviet Ukraine as a tribute to the Ukrainian pioneers and builders of Canada, was erected through the efforts of the AUUC over the vociferous objections of the UCC, which labelled the gesture a mockery when Ukrainka's works were censored by a regime that promoted "tyranny, oppression and cultural genocide."[71] And as "Lesia," a giant fibreglass statue of a Ukrainian girl in national folk costume, welcoming visitors to Canora, Saskatchewan, with the traditional gift of bread and salt, Ukrainka has been equated by descendants of the pioneers with their

Ukrainian heritage.[72]

In the process of transplantation and transformation, Ukrainka's former function as a mentor for Ukrainian Canadian women has been overshadowed - by her role as a model and source of inspiration for all women, by the universality of her poetic message, by her all-Ukrainian significance, by her use as a pawn in nationalist-progressive quarrels, by the mainstream legitimization of Ukrainian community politics and bonds with Ukraine that her public resting places represent, by her identification with the peasant pioneer heritage in western Canada. This "Canadianization" of Great Ukrainian Women has been duplicated at the popular level, with the replacement of traditional community heroines with other female symbols, rooted entirely in the Ukrainian Canadian experience, that express a more cultural ethnicity.

FOOTNOTES

[1] See, for example, M. Vala, "Ukrainska kultura i molod," in Komitet ukraintsiv Kanady, Druhyi vse-kanadiiskyi kongres ukraintsiv Kanady (Winnipeg [1946]), 63-5, as Ukrainian Canadian women faced their postwar tasks as both mothers in the home and participants in the formal life of their community.

[2] By its own reckoning, the bulk of the UWAC's money has gone to the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church; see Natalia Lewenec-Kohuska, Forty Years in Retrospect, 1926-1966, trans. Sonia Cipywnyk (Hamilton 1967), 21. To give some indication of the proportion, in 1933 over three-quarters of the financial donations to various causes by the Regina branch went to the local church and affiliated prosvita; see "Richnyi zvit viddilu Soiuzu ukrainok Kanady im. Donky Ukrainy v Ridzhaini, Sask.," Ukrainskyi holos (4 Ap 1934): 11. In 1932, the Edmonton branch of the UWAC reported that in the previous five years it had raised $11,442.25, of which $8045 had gone toward a house for the priest; see "Zvit z shestoho zahalnoho richnoho zizdu Soiuzu ukrainok Kanady," Ukrainskyi holos (2 Mr 1932): 11.

[3] See, in particular, the published annual reports of activities from local UWAC, UWOC and UCWL branches as well as the proceedings of their respective national conventions.

[4] The women's pages in Novyi shliakh and Ukrainskyi holos are the best contemporary sources for the participation of the UWOC and UWAC respectively, in the Canadian war effort. For the UWAC's assessment of its contribution, see Nataliia L. Kohuska, Pivstolittia na hromadskii nyvi: Narys istorii Soiuzu ukrainok Kanady (Edmonton and Winnipeg 1986), 658-64. Irena Knysh, ed., Na sluzhbi ridnoho narodu: Iuvileinyi zbirnyk Orhanizatsii ukrainok Kanady im. Olhy Basarab u 25-richchia vid zaisnuvannia, 1930-1955 (Winnipeg 1955), 94-110, contains the official UWOC account of its role.

[5] On the wartime formation of the UCWL, see, for example, Iryna Pavlykovska, ed., Dlia Boha, tserkvy i narodu: Liga ukrainskykh katolytskykh zhinok edmontonskoi ieparkhii v 1944-1964 rokakh, pochatky i diialnist (Edmonton [1966]), 16-20, 227-30; Vira Buchynska, ed., Slidamy dyiakonis: 25 rokiv pratsi Ligy ukrainskykh katolytskykh zhinok Kanady u Manitoby (Winnipeg 1973), 9-10, 15-6, 146-7; and "40th Anniversary of the Ukrainian Catholic Women's League," Nasha doroha 15, no. 4 (Oc-D 1984): 27-8.

[6] See the UCWL convention report in *Nasha doroha* 14, no. 4 (Oc-D 1983): 28-9. For an indication of the variety of social services performed by the UCWL in the general community, from support of the Manitoba Flood Relief Fund to support of earthquake victims in Yugoslavia, see Buchynska, *Slidamy dyiakonis*, 148-68. The UCWL has also taken a stance on abortion, "immorality" on television and related social issues.

[7] On the necessity of medical preparedness by the UWOC, as its contribution to the forthcoming struggle, together with the message that Ukrainian women in Canada had to be ready to answer their nation's call personally, see Rozaliia Turus, "Budmo svidomi zavdan," *Novyi shliakh* (16 Ap 1935): 2; I. Putsentelo, "Rolia i stanovyshche ukrainskoi zhinky v suspilno-politychnomu zhytti," *Novyi shliakh* (31 Mr 1936): 6; O.Z., "Zavdannia ukrainskoi zhinky," *Novyi shliakh* (19 Oc 1937): 11; O. Zaiatseva, "Tvorim chervonyi khrest," *Novyi shliakh* (21 Je 1938): 11; A. Mykhailovska, "Budmo hotovi!" *Novyi shliakh* (26 D 1938): 3; A. Kuryliv, "Do pratsi," *Novyi shliakh* (3 Ap 1939): 5; and S.B., "Tvorim pidviddilu Ukrainskoi pershoi pomochi," *Novyi shliakh* (29 Je 1939): 5.

[8] Kohuska, *Pivstolittia na hromadskii nyvi*, 606; "Lyst vid O. Kobylianskoi," *Ukrainskyi holos* (24 D 1930): 11; and "Zvit semoho zizdu Soiuzu ukrainok Kanady," *Ukrainskyi holos* (22 Mr 1933): 11.

[9] See, for example, "Do ukrainskykh zhinok v Kanadi i Amerytsi," *Ukrainskyi holos* (18 F 1925): 4; "Pro zizd internatsionalnoi zhinochoi rady v Vashyngtoni," *Ukrainskyi holos* (18 Mr 1925): 5; and Kh. Kononenko, "Zhinochyi kongres u Vashyngtoni," *Ukrainskyi holos* (1 Jl 1925): 4-5. The UWAC continued to respond when the Women's Union in Galicia asked for help to attend 1929 and 1933 congresses in Berlin and Marseille, respectively; see M. Rudnytska, "Lyst vid Soiuza ukrainok v Halychyni," *Ukrainskyi holos* (4 S 1929): 11; "Sprava mizhnarodnoho zhinochoho kongresu," *Ukrainskyi holos* (25 Ja 1933): 7; and M. Rudnytska, "Do vsikh ukrainskykh zhinochykh organizatsii ta poodynokykh hromadianok Kanady i Zluchenykh Derzhav," *Ukrainskyi holos* (1 F 1933): 11.

[10] See, for example, Anastaziia Rurykova, "Pani Kysilevska v Saskatuni," *Ukrainskyi holos* (16 Oc 1929): 11; "Prymirne sviato v Montreali," *Ukrainskyi holos* (23 Oc 1929): 11; "Hostyna pani Kysilevskoi v Vinnipegu" and "Hostyna pani Kysilevskoi v Ridzhaini," *Ukrainskyi holos* (6 N 1929): 11; and "Pani Kysilevska v Toronti," *Ukrainskyi holos* (13 N 1929): 11. Organized progressive women, in contrast, labelled the senator a servant of the Polish bourgeoisie and international capital; see Mariia Saranchuk, "Pislia 'diachiv' pryikhala 'diachka'," *Robitnytsia* 6, no. 18 (15 S 1929): 551; and "Komu sluzhyt pani Kysilevska," *Robitnytsia* 6, no. 23 (1 D 1929): 707-8.

[11] Pavlykovska, *Dlia Boha, tserkvy i narodu*, 16-20.

[12] On the UWAC's sending a delegate (Hanna Romanchych) to Stanislaviv, see "Zvit vosmoho zizdu Soiuzu ukrainok Kanady," *Ukrainskyi holos* (21 F 1934): 11. Reports from *Dilo* on the congress were carried

in *Ukrainskyi holos* in fall 1934. Savella Stechishin had visited Europe in 1928; her reports from her trip were also published on the UWAC page.

[13] On the women's movement in Western Ukraine between the wars, see Martha Bohachevsky-Chomiak, *Feminists Despite Themselves: Women in Ukrainian Community Life, 1884-1939* (Edmonton 1988), 151-253.

[14] Women's Committee, "Ukrainski zhinky! Spishit na zhinoche protestatsiine viche," *Kanadiiskyi ukrainets* (14 N 1928): 8; and "Protest ukrainskoho zhinotstva Vynnipegu," *Kanadiiskyi ukrainets* (3 D 1930): 1.

[15] "Zvit z shestoho zahalnoho richnoho zizdu Soiuzu ukrainok Kanady," *Ukrainskyi holos* (24 F 1932): 11.

[16] Knysh, *Na sluzhbi ridnoho narodu*, 464.

[17] "Protokol 13-ho zizdu Soiuzu ukrainok Kanady," *Ukrainskyi holos* (15 Mr 1939): 11.

[18] See Kohuska, *Pivstolittia na hromadskii nyvi*, 639-42.

[19] Knysh, *Na sluzhbi ridnoho narodu*, 464-5. On the need to cultivate Anglo-Canadian circles to propagandize the Ukrainian cause, see also Mariia Vasylenko, "Uchast ukrainskoi zhinky v politychnomu zhyttiu," *Novyi shliakh* (3 Ap 1939): 5.

[20] On Yonker's many-faceted activities on behalf of the Ukrainian cause, including her agitation among non-Ukrainians, see Irena Knysh, *Patriotyzm Anny Ionker* (Winnipeg 1964); and Anna Ionker, "Moi vrazhennia z podorozhi do Halychyny i z pobutu na mizhnarodnim zhinochim kongresi u Vidni," in Knysh, *Na sluzhbi ridnoho narodu*, 481-3.

[21] See, for example, the series "Domashnyi promysl," *Kanadyiskyi rusyn* (29 Mr, 5 Ap, 12 Ap, 1916): 4; S.S., "Deshcho z diialnosty Mohylianok," *Ukrainskyi holos* (12 My 1926): 6; "Ukrainski vyshyvky," *Ukrainskyi holos* (2 Mr 1927): 5; "V spravi vystavy ruchnykh robit," *Ukrainskyi holos* (28 Mr 1928): 11; "Vazhne zavdannia zhinotstva," *Kanadiiskyi ukrainets* (5 Mr 1930): 3 (reprinted from *Zhinocha dolia*); K. Drul, "Dobra propaganda," *Ukrainskyi holos* (23 My 1934): 11; and Rozyna Dragan, "Pysanky," *Ukrainskyi holos* (5 Ap 1939): 11.

[22] For the official UWAC perspective on its involvement in the NCW, see Kohuska, *Pivstolittia na hromadskii nyvi*, 646-60. The UWOC joined the NCW in 1947; see Knysh, *Na sluzhbi ridnoho narodu*, 179-83.

[23] See D.E. Iandova, "Teperishnia viina i oboviazok ukrainskoho zhinotstva v Kanadi," *Ukrainskyi holos* (7 F 1940): 11 and (14 F 1940): 11; and E. Sitnyk, "Zavdannia ukrainskoho zhinotstva v Kanadi v systemi diialnosty KUK," in Komitet ukraintsiv Kanady, *Tretii vse-kanadiiskyi kongres ukraintsiv Kanady* (Winnipeg [1950]), 86-90.

[24] Maria Doliszny, "WUCWO Assembly - Antigonish, N.S.," *Nasha*

doroha 15, no. 1 (Ja-Mr 1984): 25-7. See also the UCWL resolution protesting the persecution of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, the denial of civil rights and the repression of dissent in Soviet Ukraine presented to the World Union of Catholic Women's Organizations in 1974; Nasha doroha 6, no. 1 (Ja-Mr 1975): 16.

[25] See Kohuska, Pivstolittia na hromadskii nyvi, 646-60.

[26] W. Kossar, "Ukrainian Canadians in Canada's War Effort," in Ukrainian Canadian Committee, First All-Canadian Congress of Ukrainians in Canada (Winnipeg 1943), 46.

[27] Kohuska, Pivstolittia na hromadskii nyvi, 646-60, illustrates well the sense of pride in the UWAC's executive achievements on the NCW and ICW. Elizabeth Bilych, "Ukrainian Women's Ass'n of Canada," Promin 2, no. 10 (Oc 1961): 15-6, "note[s] with pride" that Mrs. John Hnatyshyn, vice-president of the NCW, was a delegate to Istanbul in 1960, "indeed...a great step forward for Ukrainian women from their pioneering days."

[28] In Robitnytsia, see, in particular, the pre-conference editorials and discussion articles, the resolutions passed by the national conferences of the Women's Section of the ULFTA, and the material written for International Women's Day and May First celebrations.

[29] S. Iuriichuk, "Nashi dity i ukrainska mova," Robitnytsia 6, no. 1 (1 Ja 1929): 24-5. Indicative of the insignificance among organized progressive women, unlike the nationalists, of a role as preservers of Ukrainian cultural traditions is the inattention paid to handicrafts. P. Lysets, "Persha ukrainska vystava narodnykh vyshyvok u Vinnipegu," Robitnytsia 14, no. 7 (1 Ap 1937): 4-5, was the magazine's first reference.

[30] See, for example, "Strashne neshchastia v staromu kraiu," Robitnytsia 4, no. 18 (15 S 1927): 545-7; "Nashym sestram i bratam," Robitnytsia 5, no. 12 (15 Je 1928): 353-5; Platon Linnichenko, "Z dopomohoiu ponevolenym sestram i bratam," Robitnytsia 5, no. 17 (1 S 1928): 519-20, an appeal to the readers of Robitnytsia from Kharkiv on behalf of the Soviet Red Cross in Western Ukraine; "Rezoliutsii protestu desiatoho zizdu TURFDim," Robitnytsia 6, no. 4 (15 F 1929): 113-4; and "Protestuite proty polsko-fashistskoho teroru!" Robitnytsia 7, no. 21 (1 N 1930): 15.

[31] John Kolasky, The Shattered Illusion: The History of Ukrainian Pro-Communist Organizations in Canada (Toronto 1979), 33.

[32] See Mariia Saranchuk, "Komu sluzhyt 'Soiuz ukrainok'," Robitnytsia 10, no. 17 (1 S 1933): 3-4; "Na iaki temy pro zhinok pyshut ukrainski fashystky," Robitnytsia 11, no. 18 (15 S 1934): 9-10; and "Ukrainski pani poliuiut na trudiashchykh zhinok," Robitnytsia 12, no. 10 (15 My 1935): 7-8.

[33] See, for example, M. Lysets, "Pro konferentsiiu Soiuzu ukrainok,"

Robitnytsia 14, no. 4 (15 F 1937): 22; and "Delehatky Soiuzu ukrainok v Saskatuni - obhovorit i tsi pytannia na vashykh naradakh," Robitnytsia 14, no. 14 (15 Jl 1937): 2-3.

[34] Mary Prokop, "Looking Back Fifty Years," Ukrainian Canadian (Mr 1972): 9-10; see also Mary Kardash, "AUUC Women Contribute to Canada's Growth," Ukrainian Canadian (15 My 1962): 13-4.

[35] For an example of cultural activity by progressive women going back to the 1920s, see "The First Girls' All-Mandolin Orchestra," Ukrainian Canadian (15 S 1966): 7. "Ukrainian Embroidery Competition," Ukrainian Canadian (15 D 1955): 5, concerning the embroidering of towels for the Franko Museum; and Helen Weir, "Work Among Women," Ukrainian Canadian (15 Ja 1956): 8-9, which refers to Ukrainian doll and cookbook projects, are just two examples of postwar cultural activities by younger members in English-speaking branches.

[36] See, for example, Mary Skrypnyk, "Mary Kardash of Winnipeg," Ukrainian Canadian (15 N 1949): 3, concerning Kardash's attendance at the World Council of the Women's International Democratic Federation meeting in Moscow.

[37] See Sytnyk's speech, "Zavdannia ukrainskoho zhinotstva v Kanadi v systemi diialnosty KUK," in Komitet ukraintsiv Kanady, Tretii vsekanadiiskyi kongres ukraintsiv Kanady, 86-90, for contemporary reaction toward Ukrainian Canadian women's responsibilities. For retrospective views of their aid to the displaced persons, see Kohuska, Pivstolittia na hromadskii nyvi, 666-75; Knysh, Na sluzhbi ridnoho narodu, 470-9; and Buchynska, Slidamy dyiakonis, 148-68.

[38] This point is made in Kohuska above. In an entirely different context, Savella Stechishin dedicated her Traditional Ukrainian Cookery to Ukrainian Canadian women on the sixty-fifth anniversary of Ukrainian settlement in Canada, "the women who treasured and practised the rich traditions of their homeland and thereby preserved them for posterity in this fair and free land of their choice."

[39] Buchynsky, Slidamy dyiakonis, 148-68. The destruction of religious life in Western Ukraine under Soviet occupation during the Second World War had reversed the relationship between the Sisters Servants' mother house in Galicia and the senior daughter house in the Canadian-American province as the latter in effect assumed temporary governorship of the order; see the relevant sections in Claudia Helen Popowich, To Serve Is To Love: The Canadian Story of the Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate (Toronto 1971).

[40] Cited in Kohuska, Pivstolittia na hromadskii nyvi, 716.

[41] Oksana Bryzhun-Sokolyk, "Znannia mynuloho - viziia maibutnoho," Nasha doroha 15, no. 1 (Ja-Mr 1984): 12.

[42] See N. Kohuska, "Chomu Soiuz ukrainok Kanady ne nalezhyt go SFUZhO?" Promin 9, no. 4 (Ap 1968): 9-12.

[43] See, for example, "A Painful Loss," Nasha doroha 7, no. 1 (Ja-Mr 1976): 17, on the death of Pawlikowska; and Iryna Malytska, "Olena Zalizniak - patriotka - sobornytsia - hromadska diiachka - pionerka zhinochoho rukhu," Nasha doroha 1, no. 3 (Jl-S 1970): 101-2.

[44] With one or two exceptions from the interwar immigration, all UWAC presidents, for example, have represented the first pioneer immigration and/or been Canadian born; see Kohuska, Pivstolittia na hromadskii nyvi, 741-69.

[45] For how UWAC pioneers remember Kononenko, see Savelia Stechyshyn, "Moi spomyny pro Kharytiu Kononenko," Promin 2, no. 5 (My 1961): 3-5; and Tetiana Shevchuk, "Kharytia Kononenko - spomyn," Promin 1, no. 4 (Ap 1961): 13-5. Shevchuk claims that already at the Petro Mohyla Institute in the early 1920s, Kononenko had exclaimed, "I want to die for Ukraine" (15).

[46] See, for example, the April 1956 issue of Zhinochyi svit on Kysilewska's death; "Pamiati zasluzhenoi hromadskoi diiachky," Zhinochyi svit 8, no. 3 (Mr 1957): 1; "Pered posviachenniam pamiatnyka sl. p. Oleny Kysilevskoi," Ukrainskyi holos (22 My 1957): 11; "Pamiatnyk na mohyli O. Kysilevskoi," Ukrainskyi holos (12 Je 1957): 5; and B.K., "Po sviachennia pamiatnyka na mohyli Oleny Kysilevskoi," Zhinochyi svit 8, nos. 7-8 (Jl-Ag 1957): 13. On the tenth anniversary of Kysilevska's death, see editorial, "Ta, shcho nesla zhinotstvu sontse," Zhinochyi svit 17, no. 3 (Mr 1966): 1; and a local UCWC commemoration in Hamilton, "V desiati rokovyny smerty Oleny Kysilevskoi," Zhinochyi svit 17, no. 6 (Je 1966): 9.

[47] Rt. Rev. J.A. McDonagh, "Builders of Canada - An Outstanding Woman," Ensign (20 Oc 1951): 19.

[48] "Mariia Savchak - persha ukrainka B.A. v Kanadi," Ukrainskyi holos (8 Ag 1923): 3. A gymnasium graduate with a record of medical service during the Galician war, Dyma had immigrated to Canada in 1920 to join an aunt and continue her studies.

[49] S. Bubniukova, "Konvokatsiia na universyteti Saskachevanu," Ukrainskyi holos (30 Jl 1930): 11; and "Savelia Stechyshyn, B.A.," Ukrainskyi holos (27 Ag 1930: 3.

[50] R.K., "Vidznachennia ukrainky za uspikhy v nautsi," Ukrainskyi holos (5 S 1956): 11.

[51] This is amply demonstrated in the recitation of the accomplishments of UWAC presidents; see Kohuska, Pivstolittia na hromadskii nyvi, 741-69. See also, for example, "The Funeral of a Meritorious Pioneer," Postup (27 Je 1982); and "Nasha zdivna molod," Zhinochyi svit 18, no. 9 (S 1967): 13.

[52] See "Alberta M.L.A.," Nasha doroha 7, no. 2 (Ap-Je 1976): 25-6; and Buchynska, Slidamy dyiakonis, 148-68, for the joint UCWL-Winnipeg recognition of the achievements of Wawrykow.

[53] This point is made by Kohuska in recounting the achievements of UWAC presidents; see her Pivstolittia na hromadskii nyvi, 741-69. The booklet in question was Notable Saskatchewan Women, 1905-1980, published by the Women's Division of Saskatchewan Labour in 1980. In 1975, on the nomination of the UCWC, Stechishin was named Woman of the Year by the Saskatchewan Council of Women.

[54] See, for example, "Ukrainky - medalistky," Zhinochyi svit 19, no. 3 (Mr 1968): 3, marking the receipt by Mary Dyma and Mary Wawrykow of Centennial medals; and Halyna Mykhalchuk, "Pani Emiliia Ostapchuk stala Ordenu Kanady," Promin 18, no. 1 (Ja 1977): 4-5, concerning the appointment of the multiculturalism activist to the Order of Canada.

[55] Dzho Karson, "Matriiarkh Kanady," Promin 8, no. 7 (Jl 1967): 11-2; Dzho Karson, "Zhinka heneral-hubernatora liderom kanadiiskykh zhinok," Promin 11, no. 12 (D 1970): 9-10; Kateryna Miskiv, "Piat slavnykh zhinok Kanady," Promin 4, no. 11 (N 1963): 18-20; "Persha zhinka posol u kanadiiskomu parliamenti," Promin, 1 no. 1 (Ja 1960): 12-3; and Mariia Mandziuk, "Persha senatorka v Kanadi," Promin 1, no. 4 (Ap 1960): 9.

[56] See Olha Voitsenko, "U zmahanni do rivnopravnosty," Promin 8, no. 2 (F 1967): 1-5; "Ukrainian Women Mark Jubilee," Winnipeg Tribune (26 N 1966): 14; and Mykhailo Marunchak, "Persha zhinocha orhanizatsiia u Vinnipegu," Zhinochyi svit 17, no. 3 (Mr 1966): 6-9, concerning Ukrainian Canadian women and the vote in 1916. See also, for example, Hanna Mandryka, "Pochatky zhinochoho rukhu v Kanadi," Zhinochyi svit 2, no. 6 (Je 1951): 19-20; and C.B., "Zhinochyi rukh u Kanadi vprodovzh stolittia," Zhinochyi svit 18, nos. 6-7 (Je-Jl 1967): 6-7. The latter article begins with Emily Stowe and ends with the Ukrainian women's organizations established by the displaced persons; Ukrainian Canadian womanhood, it states, can be proud of its role in building together with other Canadian women a free and democratic state.

[57] S. Paush, "Uspikhy nashoi molodi - Myrosia i Ievheniia Kostashi," Promin 4, no. 12 (D 1963): 13.

[58] Accurate membership figures are difficult to obtain. To give some indication of the comparative strengths of the three major national organizations late in the interwar period, the UWOC and the ULFTA reported 610 and 6,000 members, respectively, in 1937, the UWAC 4,000 in 1939. See "Zvit z III kraiovoi konferentsii Orhanizatsii ukrainok Kanady im. Olhy Basarabovoi," Novyi shliakh (6 Jl 1937): 8; O. Nurkalenko, "Istoriia zhinochoi sektsii TURFDim," Robitnytsia 14, no. 5 (1 Mr 1937): 3-7; and "Protokol 13-ho zizdu Soiuzu ukrainok Kanady," Ukrainskyi holos (8 Mr 1939): 10. Allowing for inflated numbers and excluding organized Catholic women, women's branches of organizations like the United Hetman Organization and local associations, this represented approximately one-tenth of Ukrainian Canadian women over the age of nineteen.

[59] For example, a second branch of the UCWL was established in Yorkton in 1952 to accommodate younger and English-speaking women (including

non-Ukrainians from mixed marriages); see "Branch Celebrates 20th Anniversary," *Nasha doroha* 3, no. 2 (D 1972): 6-7. By the 1950s the AUUC was also organizing English-speaking branches; see, for example, "Winnipeg Young Women," *Ukrainian Canadian* (1 My 1949): 10; and "Toronto Young Women's Club," *Ukrainian Canadian* (15 F 1950): 10, the latter club formed to accommodate not only English-speaking women but also young mothers.

[60] From the UCWL press alone, see, for example, Lidiia Luhova, "Molodi zhinky v LUKZhK," *Nasha doroha* 9, no. 1 (Ja-Mr 1978): 7-8; J. Sherman, "Ways and Means to Strengthen Internal Relations of UCWLC," *Nasha doroha* 15, no. 4 (Oc-D 1984): 25-6; Mariia Halkevych, "Rolia profesiinykh zhinok v ukrainskykh zhinochykh orhanizatsiiakh," *Nasha doroha* 18, no. 1 (Ja-Mr 1987): 9-10; and Mariia Pidkovych, "Chomu nam potribni zhinochoi orhanizatsii?" *Nasha doroha* 18, no. 1 (Ja-Mr 1987): 10-3.

[61] Sofiia Kachor, "Suchasne i viziia maibutnoho v pratsi ukrainskykh zhinochykh orhanizatsii," *Nasha doroha* 15, no. 4 (Oc-D 1984): 8-10.

[62] Tensions between an emerging professional class of nursing and teaching sisters, feeling that their special needs were unappreciated, and other nuns, who objected to the formers' liberties and insufficient contribution to their communal work, had become an issue within the Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate already in the 1920s. The division between "academic" nuns and "non-academic" nuns in the convents, who have increasingly withdrawn from an active apostolate, persists. See Popowich, *To Serve Is To Love*.

[63] Stefan Semchuk, "Vstupne slovo," in Buchynska, *Slidamy dyiakonis*, 10-2.

[64] Anastasia Zuck, "Presentation at 21st Convention in Saskatoon," *Nasha doroha* 14, no. 2 (Ap-Je 1983): 27.

[65] "40th Anniversary of the Ukrainian Catholic Women's League of Canada," *Nasha doroha* 15, no. 4 (Oc-D 1984): 27-8.

[66] Elizabeth Bilych, "The Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada," *Promin* 2, no. 12 (D 1961): 20-1.

[67] Mary Skrypnyk, "Women Say 35 Years Rich and Rewarding," *Ukrainian Canadian* (1 Ap 1957): 13.

[68] Anna Babiy, in ibid.

[69] Mary Kardash, "AUUC Women Contributed to Canada's Growth," *Ukrainian Canadian* (15 My 1962): 13-4.

[70] Letter, UCWC (Toronto), 6 October 1972, in Report No. 14 of the Committee on Parks, Recreation and City Property, Appendix A, Council Minutes, City of Toronto, 4040. The statue was the work of the American Ukrainian sculptor, Mykhailo Chereshniovsky.

[71] Enclosure to letter, UCC (Saskatoon), 17 August 1976, to R.W. Begg, President, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, in Presidential Papers, Series V, General Correspondence, 1976, Archives of the University of Saskatchewan. The University of Saskatchewan was chosen as an "impartial" home for Ukrainka (by the Soviet sculptor, Halyna Kalchenko) after the City of Saskatoon, under pressure from the UCC, rescinded its decision to erect the statue on city property; see Council Minutes, City of Saskatoon, 1974-1977.

[72] The statue by local artists, Nick and Orest Lewchuk, was a project of the Canora and District Chamber of Commerce; see Minutes, Canora and District Chamber of Commerce, Canora, Saskatchewan, 1977-80. See also the special issue of the Canora Courier (10 S 1980) concerning "Lesia's" unveiling by Governor-General Edward Schreyer.

CHAPTER X

BABA

In her final hours, Gabrielle Roy's Marta Yaramko wondered if ordinary souls survived. "Perhaps it was possible for certain ones," she decided, "the great souls, the noble and profound minds, whose loss people would never cease to mourn. But Marta! An ignorant old woman who lagged so far behind even her own children - how could she deserve to be rescued somewhere beyond this world? No, she could not imagine herself living forever, surviving herself."[1] But Marta was mistaken. If Ukrainian Canadians have a "Great Woman" in either the English or the French Canadian tradition, or indeed a general mythic figure, she is the peasant immigrant pioneer in western Canada in the opening decades of the twentieth century. Her myth represents the meeting and mingling of three distinct yet interrelated threads.

One is the Canadianization of Princess Olha and the Ukrainian Mother in community propaganda and programs, particularly by the national women's organizations emerging in the interwar years, and the resulting veneration of the peasant immigrant pioneer woman as the living model and source of inspiration for a subsequent generation of Ukrainian Canadian women. Combining the qualities of a successful pioneer with Ukrainianness, she was seen to have slaved with superhuman strength and great sacrifice for the spiritual and physical welfare of her family; she had ensured that her children remained true to their people and traditions, and to their faith or class; and she had joined with like-minded women to broaden her horizons and serve her community. Beginning with their prototype in the peasant immigrant pioneer, Princess Olha and the Ukrainian Mother in their Canadian form were presumed by the first- and second-generation women forming the elite among their sex to be self-perpetuating. As community activists and the mothers of conscious Ukrainian daughters who became community activists and mothers in turn, they guaranteed the physical survival of their group and its commitment to things Ukrainian. In this the "official" community perspective, the Ukrainian peasant immigrant pioneer woman plays a symbolic role similar to that of the traditional French Canadian mother figure in la survivance, albeit with significant differences, and shares also in her timelessness.

But the Ukrainian Canadian group image is not of the mother and community servant, recreated with each generation and ultimately identified with group survival, but of the peasant immigrant pioneer as baba, the old woman or grandmother. Far exceeding in popularity the official female figure the community has cultivated, baba represents a grassroots tradition evolving independently of the elite and, despite certain common sentiments, expressing a different understanding of the nature of the Ukrainian Canadian heritage and identity. The replacement of the young woman with the old, particularly in the consciousness of third- and fourth-generation Ukrainian Canadians, marks the passage of the peasant immigrant pioneer from a functional model of Ukrainianness for her sex especially to an essentially passive symbol for the Ukrainian Canadian group as a whole, in which the peasant and pioneer dominate and indeed define the Ukrainian. In the peasant immigrant pioneer woman's popular role as an ethnic or group symbol, as baba, are to be found the two remaining themes her myth brings together and illuminates.

Baba, the old woman who cannot be recreated, personifies the specific unrepeatable experience of her people - the immigration of Ukrainian peasants to the virgin lands of western Canada at the turn of the century and their invaluable contribution to Canadian nationbuilding during its crucial period. As a group symbol illustrating the importance of the time and place of their major immigration to Ukrainian Canadians' sense of themselves as Canadians and partners in Confederation, she functions as part of the peasant pioneer myth to give the Ukrainian group legitimacy in the Canadian context. This feminization of the founding fathers, however, would have been unimaginable were it not for the other thread on which baba's identification with the Ukrainian Canadian peasant pioneer heritage draws. As a popular group symbol, she both underscores and illuminates how the peasant cultural baggage of the first immigration, and not the propaganda and programs of the community elite, has dictated Ukrainian Canadians' sense of themselves as Ukrainian. The symbols best expressing Ukrainianness in Canada today, those most successfully reflecting the shared experiences of the group and bridging past and present, come from Ukrainian peasant culture and represent activities traditionally associated with women. The source of the Ukrainian peasant pioneer family's emotional strength and stability, and the custodian of its traditions and values, baba has been perceived by her descendants as their spiritual and physical link to their Ukrainian heritage and to their understanding of themselves as hyphenated Canadians.

That the idealized peasant immigrant pioneer woman has become a major popular symbol of contemporary Ukrainian Canadian identity, at both intensely personal and larger group levels, speaks of the nature of that identity - where the female and not her male counterpart best embodies its essence, and where the peasant and the pioneer define the Ukrainian and the Canadian. That she has been immortalized as the old woman or grandmother attests to the success of the Ukrainian emphasis on progress. Pronouncing the death sentence on a peasant lifestyle, it forced her into a nostalgic and frozen figure representing roots but with limited potential as an active model and source of inspiration for either her sex or her group. The peasant immigrant pioneer as _baba_, and not the self-perpetuating mother and community servant, constitutes the triumph of the Ukrainian peasant pioneer cultural heritage over a politicized Ukrainian national consciousness as the core of the Ukrainian Canadian identity. It is a blow to the survival and future of the Ukrainian group in Canada as the community blueprint would have it. At the same time, _baba_'s popularity and her institutionalization in the Canadian mainstream, particularly in the prairie provinces, reflects the power and pervasiveness of her image among Ukrainian Canadians and their influence beyond their group. Moreover, it has no parallel among other Canadian women.

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In _The Last Best West_, her account of women on the Alberta frontier, Eliane Silverman writes:

> Work was sheer and simple necessity. For women it was ennobled by no myth of transcendence, no symbols uplifted it

> into the male realm of creating a nation. The knowledge that work was simply the means to survival could not inspire any creative imagery, no songs or poetry. The women who performed the heroic feats of survival in an unpredictable and often incomprehensible world did not fashion any mythic heroines, no great figures to call their own. Without flashes of light or dark shadows, without glorification or despair, most women worked unremittingly, day after day, season after season, at something "you just had to do."[2]

Silverman's book is a celebration of the work that simply had to be done and of the women who performed it. In the process, it obscures equally the contemporary Anglo-Canadian condemnation of the crushing and desexing workload of Ukrainian pioneer women, together with the attitudes responsible for it, and Ukrainians' awareness of this condemnation and their response. Defence of Ukrainian women in the name of the group, for example, could translate into praise of those whose toil and unselfishness contributed more to the well-being of their families and people than the perceived weakness and fastidiousness of their Anglo-Canadian detractors did to the well-being of theirs. "I think the English do not like...our women," a Ukrainian peasant woman told the fieldworkers for Woodsworth's 1917 survey of Ukrainian rural communities, "because our women help their men in farming. The English women are very lazy. They sleep too long - their husbands prepare breakfast for them. Our women like to help their men because they know that they work for themselves."[3]

The best measure of the popular ethos, the Ukrainian immigrant folksong, seldom concerns women's work. The very presence of women among its creators, however, belies the contention that work left women incapable of poetry or imagination.[4] And, contrary to Silverman's contention that pioneer women failed to fashion mythic heroines or ennoble their work by equating it with nationbuilding, Ukrainians did both.

The effort was admittedly modest and the product of elite reflection, and it is impossible to ascertain the existence or depth of a corroborating sentiment among the mass of illiterate and inarticulate women. Nevertheless, it locates the beginnings of the veneration of the Ukrainian peasant immigrant pioneer woman, significantly like the peasant pioneer myth itself, in the period of initial immigration and settlement.

The first sign that the Ukrainian peasant pioneer woman would acquire larger-than-life stature among her descendants was an article by Anna Bychinska, through her husband close to Anglo-Canadian Presbyterian circles, appearing in the Grain Growers' Guide in 1920. Sympathetic and occasionally almost maudlin, it already identified the qualities and trials of the Ukrainian peasant pioneer woman that her myth subsequently enshrined: the courage and perseverance; the personal self-denial for her family's sake; the helplessness in the face of illness; the material hardship and poverty; the emotional cost, particularly the death of a child, when emigration and pioneering exacted woman's supreme sacrifice; the loneliness and disorientation in the great void of prairie and bush; the physical labour on the land; the responsibility for basic survival during a husband's absence; and the progress and reward the purchase of the first cow promised. Not only were women placed on a pedestal but they were also, even upstaging their men, tied to nationbuilding. Bychinska concluded:

> The Ukrainians are truly pioneers of Western Canada. When they came here their greatest possessions were good health, strong arms and great perseverance. Their hardships were great but it taught them to love the land into which culture the best years of their lives were given. The men profited by having to go out in search of work, for they became acquainted with more modern ways of farming and learned

> to speak a little English.
>
> In the first years of extreme struggle the Ukrainian women have proved themselves to possess dauntless courage and perseverance, and we may truly say of them that they have been an inspiration that has carried the men through.[5]

Such sentiments had little in common with the dominant contemporary images of Ukrainian women - neither the ignorant peasant and farm girl, indifferent housewife and mother, and frivolous Katie the nationalists decried, nor the oppressed woman and exploited wage-slave the socialists championed. They indicate that condemnation of the attitudes and behaviour of Ukrainian women by those most sensitive to their group's position in Canadian society and its national-cultural responsibilities was by no means universal or unrelieved. Periodic support and praise of Ukrainian pioneer women for their fortitude and contribution to the survival and progress of their families, and by extension, their people was in part a defensive reaction to Anglo-Canadian prejudice. It was also a practical acknowledgement of women's vital role on the Ukrainian homestead as part of the family farming unit. Back in 1898, for example, a Greek Catholic priest had told Ukrainian homesteaders that their women were valuable assets because they worked on the land, and thus they should ignore the scorn and outrage of the English.[6]

Thirty years later another itinerant priest, recording his impressions of Ukrainian pioneer life and the immigrants' role in Canadian development, not only commended the work and character of Ukrainian pioneer women, to the disadvantage of women from other nationalities, but also, in a manner reminiscent of Bychinska, tied Ukrainian women as well as men to Canadian nationbuilding. Compared to the picture created by subsequent mythologists, however, his analysis was unusual in two respects. Emphasis on the Ukrainian pioneer woman's faith in God rather than her innate strengths detracted from an independent larger-than-life figure taking control of her own destiny; and the curses and blows from her husband that the priest maintained were often a woman's sole reward would have no place in the romanticization of Ukrainian peasant family life and pioneering undertaken by her descendants.[7]

In making virtues of what Anglo-Canadians condemned and exalting as heroic the ordinary deeds of ordinary women, Ukrainian Canadian mythologizers have had to exert caution. While they could ennoble sacrifice and suffering, courage and industry, and poverty in the abstract, it was impossible to relate them to Ukrainian peasant practices and standards of living or notions and treatment of women as subordinate and inferior. To have done so would have been to rob the Ukrainian peasant immigrant pioneer woman of dignity and stature and to blacken the group image Ukrainian Canadians have tried so hard to cultivate. Bychinska's own article, together with its companion (also appearing in the Grain Growers' Guide) on Ukrainian women in their homeland, present a curious blend of incongruities that illustrate the problems. The Ukrainian pioneer woman in Canada was painted against an old-country backdrop that combined an idyllic picture of village life with a bleak picture of poverty, oppression, and in particular female drudgery; and with approval of the strict community morality that Bychinska held spoke in the Ukrainians' favour but which in effect only highlighted the precariousness of women's position. "Morally," Bychinska wrote, "the people stood very high":

> If perchance a girl has fallen, she is publicly exposed, her hair is cut off and she is shunned by the whole community. If a husband beats his wife when she is contrary, then the

> whole village approves of it, but should he beat her out of spite, then the whole village reproves him.[8]

Subsequent mythologizers would find wife-beating, whether "justified" or not, and similar signs of women's oppression in Ukrainian peasant and immigrant life, less easy to accommodate.

Instead, a selective and carefully constructed vision of the past has simultaneously blamed Ukrainians' foreign masters, and individuals and classes among their own people acting against its interests, for what could be perceived as Ukrainian shortcomings and chosen to ignore potentially problematic and embarrassing features of Ukrainian peasant tradition and pioneering. The result has been an idealized image of the Ukrainian peasant immigrant woman, her status and role, that touches the realities of her sociocultural environment both before and after immigration only at points.

The evolution of the Ukrainian peasant immigrant pioneer woman as a romanticized and heroic figure in large measure parallels the evolution of the Ukrainian peasant pioneer myth itself, and both are inseparable from the western Canadian social context in which they are rooted. As Canadian phenomena, they are part of the popular romanticization of homesteading in the prairie provinces in general and of the men and women challenged to superhuman feats that has crystallized among western Canadians in particular, especially since the Second World War. Its visible manifestation is the local history industry which has flourished in the prairie provinces over the past three decades. The veneration of the pioneers represents a response to social and technological changes that have eroded the significance, independence and vitality of not only rural prairie communities and their residents but also the West itself in the larger scheme of things. It is both a nostalgic escape from an increasingly complex world to a simpler era when people were perceived to be in command of their fates and a lesson for westerners in the present, reaffirming through their ties with the past their faith in themselves, their particularity as westerners and their significance to national development. That the more recent local histories do not confine themselves to the pioneer generation but include the newest babe in arms testifies to the importance of establishing a sense of continuity and place among the pioneers' descendants. On one level - demonstrated in the peasant pioneer myth, the special attention accorded the peasant pioneer woman, and the local histories emerging from predominantly Ukrainian districts - Ukrainian Canadians have been participants in this process, reflecting experiences and convictions shared as westerners with other nationalities.

Nor have whitewashing and selective memory or exaggeration and idealization been unique to the Ukrainians. Rape, bastardy, mental illness, suicide, battered women, social marginality, economic failure and community feuding have no place in local histories. Their purpose, as their titles convey, is to record how the expectations and struggles of one's forebearers bore fruit and left an enduring legacy.[9] In that they deal with women - for although acknowledging the contribution and role of the female pioneer, local histories follow the lead of conventional western Canadian historiography and frame the past as a male experience - they depict a figure not unlike the Ukrainian peasant pioneer in her emotional strength, resourcefulness and commitment to hard work. Uncomplaining toil and sacrifice, suffering, patience, endurance, familial devotion, quiet courage - the basic elements of the pioneer woman's image, regardless of nationality, correspond to traditional ideas of female roles and the female character.[10] Woman is like a resilient tree branch, bending with the wind but surviving the storm. And the pioneer woman's heroism and achievement have been universally acclaimed as examples and sources of inspiration for those who followed her; in so doing they identify contemporary women with the same "female virtues" she herself embodies.[11]

The pioneer woman glorified does, of course, possess other attributes, although they are not reflected evenly across the prairies. To Ukrainians women's labour, and particularly their labour on the land, have become matters of pride, directly linking Ukrainian Canadian women with their group's claims to nationbuilding and its socioeconomic progress - and in a manner that makes gender largely irrelevant. But not all groups or communities have considered the pioneer woman's work outside her responsibilities for the house and children as an integral component of her image and legacy. The Finnish pioneer woman in Saskatchewan, for example, has been highly praised but solely as a homemaker - baking, cooking, ironing, cleaning, bearing and rearing children.[12] Norwegian local and community historians have also described an essentially domestic woman; in a history of the Bardo district of Alberta she is above all a loving and loved mother. The book in fact is "lovingly and respectfully" dedicated

> to the early pioneer mothers who faced great hardships with courage and cheerfulness, who never spared themselves, nor asked for any reward....May the memories of these olden days of self-denial and strong faith long be cherished by our children, teach them the true values of life and give them a greater appreciation of the blessings they now enjoy.[13]

These differences suggest not necessarily that women from different ethnic groups performed different types of work - that labour on the land was indeed unique to Ukrainians - but how ethnic groups have perceived both themselves and women's relationship to them differently. For Ukrainians, the importance of legitimization has made women's contribution and role, in whatever form, as necessarily exploitable as men's.

There are also other differences, again demonstrable using Finnish and Norwegian examples. In the two Norwegian histories there is no sense of women passing on "Norwegianness"; the history of New Finland, on the other hand, indicates the Finnish pioneer woman's role in teaching her children the Finnish language and Finnish history and songs, but unlike Ukrainian community tradition, without a sense that this ethnocultural role represented a specific responsibility or had an ulterior goal and particular urgency. As both historical figures and models and sources of inspiration, Ukrainian peasant immigrant pioneer women have played a role in Ukrainian Canadian community mythology not found among pioneer women generally in either the Canadian mainstream or other ethnic groups. Whereas to the latter the pioneer woman is an individual, a female heroine unqualified or a Canadian heroine unhyphenated, to Ukrainian Canadians the peasant immigrant pioneer woman serves and reflects upon her group. In official community propaganda she has become identified with politicized Ukrainianness, a worthy successor to Princess Olha and an example for successive generations of Ukrainian Canadian women. She also plays a role in popular Ukrainian Canadian mythology that has no parallel in the Canadian mainstream or among other ethnic groups. As baba, the old woman, she is more passive but still Ukrainian, a collective symbol of group identity resting on the Ukrainian peasant (and pioneer) heritage. Moreover, it is a symbol sufficiently strong to have penetrated the general Canadian consciousness, especially in western Canada.

These two facets of her image and legacy, joined in her person but not coexisting without tension, set her apart. Her closest rival as an active model of nationalism however defined, the French Canadian mother, was more limited and never became the nostalgic grandmother,[14] while her nearest equivalent as a popular image, the Italian mother figure, lacks the same group connotations.[15] The interplay within the peasant immigrant pioneer woman of elite and popular definitions of the Ukrainian Canadian personality comments not only on women's relationship to the group experience but also on that experience itself, past, present and future.

Two statues erected by the Ukrainian community stand on public property in front of city hall in Edmonton, testifying to Ukrainian Canadian numbers and political influence in the prairie provinces. One, raised by the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (UCC), commemorates the artificial famine in Soviet Ukraine in 1932-33. The other, "Madonna of the Wheat," was dedicated by the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada (UWAC) to all pioneer women of Alberta on the occasion of the province's seventy-fifth anniversary. It commemorates the pioneer woman's labour and will that conquered great physical and psychological obstacles, her sacrifices for her family and the larger society, and her educational, moral and religious attainments.[16] The first statue attaches Ukrainian Canadians firmly to Ukraine. The second not only identifies them with their pioneer heritage in western Canada but also, it could be argued, identifies the pioneer heritage of western Canadian women generally with the specific Ukrainian experience.

For it would be unwise to overstress the universality of the "Madonna of the Wheat." Young, slender, beautiful, her hair neatly coiled in braids, her eyes contemplating the distant horizon, she wears her "Sunday best," a Ukrainian embroidered blouse, and carries in her arms a sheaf of wheat, time-honoured Ukrainian symbol of life and unity with one's ancestors. She reflects the instructions of the women who financed her, unhappy with the contemporary portrayal of the Ukrainian pioneer woman by noted Ukrainian Canadian sculptor, Leo Mol, at the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village east of Edmonton.[17] His was an unmistakable peasant, seated beside her man, eyes downcast, a swaddled child on her lap, her hair covered with the ubiquitous headshawl. "Madonna of the Wheat," the Ukrainian Canadian pioneer, is the idealized Ukrainian maiden, evoking the nation, who adorns the banknotes of the Ukrainian People's Republic or symbolizes the great heroines of Ukrainian history.

It would be surprising if the resemblance were accidental. Already in 1943, for example, in addressing the first congress of the UCC and reflecting its desire to convince the Canadian public of its loyalty in wartime, a spokesperson for a Ukraine-oriented body like the Ukrainian Women's Organization of Canada (UWOC) linked the Ukrainian pioneer woman in Canada to the "Great Women" of Ukraine. She slid smoothly Princess Olha, the women of Cossackdom, the female figures of the nineteenth-century renaissance, the heroines of the independence struggles, and the nationally conscious mothers throughout Ukrainian history to the Ukrainian pioneer woman who had been "greatly instrumental in the development of Canada" and "reared her children to be good, respectable Canadian citizens."[18] In 1945 the UWOC added Canadian pioneers, "those self-denying Ukrainian mothers-pioneers labouring painfully to secure a better life for the present generation," to its list of heroic Ukrainian women to be honoured on Mothers' Day.[19]

The UWOC's Canadian emphasis is understandable in the context of the times. But while it marked a major turning point in the organization's Canadianization, and a departure from its traditional emphasis on the Ukrainianness and Ukrainian role of Ukrainian women in Canada, too much should not be read into it. For the UWOC, as for all Ukrainian Canadian women's organizations, the identification of Ukrainian Canadian pioneer women with the "Great Women" of Ukraine, becoming more widespread and more clearly articulated over the next several decades, was above all a Ukrainian statement. As the equal and a legitimate successor of Princess Olha and her heirs, the Ukrainian Canadian pioneer woman was part of the Ukrainian nation, serving its interests, defending its rights, and acting for the good of her people. That the UWOC, the UWAC and the Ukrainian Catholic Women's League (UCWL) have all tied the pioneer woman to her Ukrainian forebears demonstrates the pervasiveness and persistence of the link as an important community image and point of identification for organized women. Their various spokespersons have also made clear the ultimate Ukrainianness of its function.

An article in the UWAC journal, Promin, on Mothers' Day in 1981, for example, acknowledged "the many Ukrainian mothers deserving deep love and respect"; it began with Princess Olha, telling her warrior son to return from battle victorious or to die fighting for Ukraine, and ended with the pioneer and immigrant woman who had preserved the Ukrainian language and culture in Canada.[20] A contemporary editorial in Nasha doroha, mouthpiece of the UCWL, established a similar bond - between the mothers of captive Ukraine, struggling and suffering with and for their children, and Ukrainian pioneer mothers in Canada whose strong faith and attachment to their homeland and traditions had laid the foundations of Ukrainian life and prosperity in emigration.[21] Another article in the UWAC press makes the implications of the connection clear. "The Ukrainian mother has high standards to uphold set by her ancestors in the Ukraine," it begins. "Starting with the Princess Olha in the 10th century the Ukrainian mother has been admired for her faithfulness, her devotion to duty, her perseverance, and her sound judgment." The Ukrainian mother living in Canada, the author continues,

> is the living link between the dead and the unborn, and just as those before her, she must do her part....Her grandmothers toiled bravely in establishing a Ukrainian life in Canada, often under dire economic conditions. But they were true to their purpose and of steadfast heart. They have bequeathed to us well organized Ukrainian communities with their beautiful churches, National Homes, and other establishments. Of these we can be proud. They are our heritage and we are responsible for them not only now, but in the future.
>
> Being a member of the Ukrainian group in Canada the Ukrainian mother is required to meet certain expectations. It is expected that her children have a command of the Ukrainian language; that they have a knowledge of our history and literature; that her children remain faithful to the culture and faith of their ancestors; that they marry amongst their own and transmit this knowledge and ideals to the future generations....
>
> A well informed Ukrainian mother knows why she is expected to take such pains in fostering Ukrainian culture in her home. She is proud of being chosen to keep the spiritual possessions of her ancestors alive; that she, like the mothers of other national groups is protecting her spiritual gems from the dissolving effects of assimilation. But above all, she is ever conscious of the fact that she is fighting for the life of her people and their spiritual welfare. She is well informed about life in contemporary Ukraine. In her very home she is keeping the spark of freedom alive which one day will unite with the freedom-loving people in the struggle for liberty and Ukraine's independence....
>
> Our hopes for our future lie in a Ukrainian mother who is thus conscious of her duties and tries to meet them according to her best ability. She is not a figment of imagination, nor is she an impossibility. She is the Ukrainian mother whose

> faith is stronger than death. She kept the torch of national life burning through the darkest hours of Ukrainian history. It is due to her love and devotion that the toil which already has been put into our Canadian life will not perish but continue to live as a vital contribution from the beautiful, rich land of Ukraine.[22]

The effort to establish continuity between traditional Ukrainian heroines and Ukrainian pioneer women in Canada has not been limited to the nationalist community. Although its definition of the nation's rights and interests and the good of the people differs, as does its interpretation of the inspirational role of the "Great Women" of Ukraine combining class with Ukrainian consciousness, the progressive community too has perceived the activities of Ukrainian pioneer women in Canada as an extension of those of their predecessors in Ukraine.[23] The most visible symbol of the relationship, although transcending gender lines in its tribute to all Ukrainian pioneers and builders of Canada, is the Lesia Ukrainka statue at the University of Saskatchewan. Mothers' Day in Association of United Ukrainian Canadian (AUUC) circles, like Mothers' Day among nationalists, has also evolved to pay homage to the pioneers, "the Grannies...who gave their youth away in toil and drudgery in order to make homes in Canada and to raise us"; these women, too, were nationbuilders, breaking the land, rearing children, making sacrifices for a better future.[24] As the childrearer, the pioneer woman was responsible for maintaining Ukrainian identity among her children, through "the language, songs and stories which were told her as a child. She celebrated holidays, cooked Ukrainian dishes, and set the moral and disciplinary learning in terms of the lifestyle that she was familiar with."[25]

And AUUC women, like their counterparts in other Ukrainian Canadian women's organizations, have been urged to follow the footsteps of their pioneer mothers and have themselves sought inspiration and guidance from their example. "I want to find and rekindle within me that same strong fervour and courage that my mother had," wrote a woman in the progressive magazine, Ukrainian Canadian, to honour Mothers' Day in 1958:

> That understanding and abiding faith which she found within our organization spurred her on during these forty eventful years of its existence. She even showed that fervour when reading aloud to me our Ukrainian paper when I was still a child. And in reading it back to her I learned to read for myself. Now, when enjoying the profoundly beautiful words of Lesya Ukrainka, Shevchenko, Stefanyk and Korolenko, I thank her silently over and over again between each line.

Refreshed by her reminiscences of her pioneer mother, the author concluded: "If this new fervour within my heart can reach out to kindle the hopes and aspirations of my children to continue working within the AUUC for the betterment of themselves and all Ukrainian Canadians, then I will know the search was not in vain."[26]

These few examples, drawn from both nationalist and progressive literature, illuminate several points about the role of the pioneer woman in official community mythology. They help to explain the symbolic significance of her visual commemoration as the young woman she was - dynamic, idealized, dressed in her "Sunday best" and unmistakable Ukrainian costume.[27] While the progressives have been prepared to question the politicized national consciousness of the peasant immigrant pioneer of the early twentieth century (what she practised and passed on was natural and normal), the nationalists now paint her as a Ukrainian patriot who deliberately preserved her language and culture in Canada and dedicated herself to Ukrainian causes. As the young woman, the physical link with Ukraine through immigration, the spiritual link with Ukraine through her sisterhood with the "Great Women" of Ukrainian history, the pioneer woman acts as a functional myth for her descendants in the manner of the United Empire Loyalists and Selkirk settlers for theirs. She is the source of values, principles and guidelines for present and future generations of Ukrainian women in Canada; she defines them as Ukrainians; and she imposes on them an obligation as her Ukrainian heirs, not only on behalf of the group and community in Canada but also on behalf of the nation in Ukraine. The peasant immigrant pioneer woman is now herself a model and source of inspiration.

But while she functions in this manner as the common property of all, she is simultaneously the exclusive property, narrowly defined, of the various ideological and religious factions comprising the Ukrainian Canadian community. For the Ukrainian pioneer woman is not merely the guardian and transmitter of Ukrainian values and traditions. She guards and transmits them according to the precepts and understanding of the elites responsible for formal community structures and programs. This fact, depriving her of her universality as a model and inspiration, makes her an instrument and a reflection of the organizations that define and dominate organized women's life.

Her exclusivity is apparent in the literature extolling her virtues as homemaker and mother, not only in the form her "Ukrainianness" takes but also in her supplementary attributes (her Catholicism or her class consciousness, for example). It becomes even more apparent, however, in her image as successor to Princess Olha the public figure: the pioneer woman as an active member of her community participates in and contributes to Ukrainian group life through her organizational affiliation. This has meant that her role as a symbolic general figure representing a particular ideological or religious camp has, in official community mythology, to a large extent been pre-empted by her identification with the individual "Great Women" who founded, led and built their organizations, locally and Canada-wide. The Kelowna branch of the UWAC, named in honour of Savella Stechishin, marks the official equality of these women with Princess Olha, Olha Basarab, Olena Kysilewska and other Ukrainian heroines chosen as local patronesses.[28]

Examples of individualization are legion: at a humble level in newspaper obituary columns or the family biography sections of local histories;[29] at a more structured level in an anniversary collection of female biography like the AUUC's Zhinochi doli to honour women active in the progressive movement,[30] in organizations' jubilee books where their "Great Women" are specifically acknowledged,[31] or in the feature articles on prominent women that dot the pages of the women's press.[32] These individuals change the meaning of "pioneers" from its original association with prairie settlement and the immigrant generation for they are firstly organizational figures and represent in addition to immigrant women the same second generation as Nasha Meri and Katie. As recognizable names, or as models and inspirations for an organization's own members or the women it hopes to attract, they appeal to a restricted and decreasing audience. The UCWL, for instance, boasting the largest membership of all Ukrainian Canadian women's organizations, claimed 7,000 members in 1973, some 6,000 seven years later.[33] This constituted a mere 7.7 per cent of the only 29.3 per cent of Ukrainian Canadian women who identified themselves as Ukrainian Catholic; almost half of the latter were forty-five years of age or older.[34] As a functional myth embodying politicized Ukrainianness, important to the future of the Ukrainian group in Canada as a recognizable and purposeful community, the pioneer woman is limited.

In early 1968 the Isaacs Gallery in Toronto exhibited a series of paintings by William Kurelek depicting the experience of Ukrainian pioneer women in western Canada. Originally commissioned by the executive of the UWAC, who "unfortunately...failed to communicate their vision and enthusiasm to the rank-and-file members of their group," and inspired by the virtues of Kurelek's own mother,[35] the series opened with scenes of Ukrainian women on the Cossack settlement frontier and concluded with baba surrounded by her grandchildren in a prosperous modern home. The intervening panels showed the pioneer woman in her various guises, at work on the homestead, at leisure at a rural Sunday picnic, as a member of her community at a UWAC organizational meeting, as a mother teaching her son to read Ukrainian.[36] The optimism and fulfilment of the final panel, entitled "Material Success," was tempered by an unnoticed atomic blast visible through the window, an undeniable challenge, on an ultimate note, to the progress theme cultivated by the UWAC. Nor was Kurelek's pioneer woman - sturdy and kerchiefed, although without the submissiveness of Mol's figure in the "Pioneer Family" group - a "Madonna of the Wheat." While faulting Kurelek for not showing Ukrainian Canadian women involved in social struggles, the AUUC in its review of opening night gave the exhibit grudging approval:

> The artist told his audience of a brief period of his youth in Winnipeg when he had been a devoted nationalist. At that time he pictured Ukrainian womanhood as richly dressed in costume, standing on the ramparts, urging the liberators of his homeland on to battle.
>
> That conception he has abandoned it seems, in favour of a more realistic picture. He shows us instead a plain, almost ugly woman, hardened by hardships and life itself.[37]

In other words, Kurelek portrayed the peasant.

In official community myth and commemoration of the peasant pioneer woman, the peasant is largely lost. The image is resurrected, however, in baba, the old woman who simultaneously represents to third- and fourth-generation Ukrainian Canadians their immigrant grandmothers in the prairie provinces in the early twentieth century and their heritage as both Canadians and Ukrainians. Able, unlike her politicized double, to transcend ideological and religious cleavages to act as a common group symbol, baba is as unmistakably a peasant as she is a popular and beloved figure. The contemporary folk artists, predominately women, who have given her physical expression, illustrate a consensus that exists concerning her appearance. Whether a Christmas tree ornament marketed as a "Baba bell," a figurine made of papier maché, or a Raggedy Ann-like doll, baba is identifiable by her trademark headscarf, voluminous skirts and inclination to the rotund.[38] She evokes the picture of the Ukrainian peasant pioneer woman painted in turn-of-the-century immigration and settlement literature.

The image baba projects is far from "grandmotherly" in its traditional North American understanding of feminine and homely,[39] but neither does she conform to the stereotype of the Ukrainian peasant woman as submissive and downtrodden. A strong personality, highly individualistic, and with a touch of the eccentric, baba displays the wit and character of the old peasant woman of Ukrainian folktales; in Canada her type was found in the satirical-humourous press of the 1920s and 1930s.[40] Baba is the kind of woman who keeps her dead husband's gall stones in a pickle jar in the kitchen; she feels mildly superior to the people of River Heights, Winnipeg, who grow grass simply to cut it and watch it grow again; and she uses the onion skins in their first editions to roll her cigarettes. She also dwarfs her social-climbing daughter, ashamed of the green-roses kerchief and black felt boots worn to tea in the River Heights mansion.[41] For baba, regardless of the fact that her peasant attitudes and habits aroused disfavour in Canadian society, possesses an inviolable dignity and sense of herself. As one of "Hell's Babushkas," madly pedalling her tricycle, her kerchief flying in the wind, she can adorn a lapel button in a parody of the infamous motorcycle gang without being diminished in any way.[42]

The popularity of baba as a literary and artistic symbol suggests a figure of considerable significance to Ukrainian Canadians. In turn, how she has been portrayed suggests both the need to re-evaluate the image of women in Ukrainian peasant immigrant pioneer society and the importance of their peasant roots to Ukrainian Canadians' self-definition as Ukrainians. Contrary to the accusations hurled at her in her youth by the pioneer intelligentsia-elite, baba does not cower like a mouse in its hole or hide behind closed doors.[43] If the peasant immigrant women had been solely the ignorant and apathetic creature the embryonic Ukrainian community leadership sought to take in hand, or the domestic drudge and beast of burden that early twentieth-century Anglo-Canadians saw, she could only with great difficulty have blossomed into the self-composed, opinionated and slightly irreverent baba of today. The emphasis on baba's peasantness, her earthy and humourous side, is a grassroots phenomenon finding little support in official community circles concerned with social mobility, national heroines and a pleasing view of the past in which men and women worked equally and together for the good of their families and people. But in endearing traits once stamped as foreign and inferior, even unwomanly, it also offers evidence that despite undeniable male dominance in the Ukrainian peasant family and community, the peasant immigrant pioneer woman was by no means a passive bystander in her life. Moreover, she and not her male counterpart emerged as the dominant figure from her period and generation.

Baba represents to Ukrainian Canadians not only their Canadian birthright and western Canadian pioneer heritage (in this the male easily equals her) but more importantly their heritage as Ukrainians. That Ukrainian Canadians interpret their Ukrainian heritage through the turn-of-the-century peasant immigrant and not the community elite has been demonstrated by recent research. Sociological studies show that selected primary synoptic symbols from among those defining the peasants' world, best reflecting the unique shared experience of the group and most successfully bridging past and present, have enjoyed the greatest staying power to express Ukrainian Canadians' Ukrainian identity.[44] The result has been the dominance of a cultural ethnicity over a politicized national consciousness. Baba's role in this process goes beyond playing the peasant, for otherwise it would be difficult to explain why she has overshadowed dido, the old man or grandfather. To understand both her preponderance and function, it is necessary to return to the position the peasant immigrant pioneer woman occupied within her family and her relationship to the traditions and practices that have come to be associated with Ukrainianness in Canada today.

While baba the peasant is not portrayed as particularly feminine, the explanation as to why the peasant immigrant pioneer woman, and not her male partner, has acquired such significance as an ethnocultural symbol lies in the "female" tasks she performs and the "female" attributes she represents. In other words, baba's importance rests on traditional socially-prescribed female functions that bear directly on popular conceptions and expressions of the Ukrainian Canadian identity. But if gender has dictated her role as a Ukrainian Canadian group symbol, the latter has also meant the rejection of narrow identification with her sex. Although her own female functions have been responsible for her prominence, because she acts as a group instead of a female symbol, any obligation they impose on her female heirs is strictly implicit and incidental. Unlike the pioneer woman of official community commemoration, intended as a model and source of inspiration for successive generations of Ukrainian Canadian women, baba is not only more broadly based but through that broader base and its influence on her myth also more passive and more nostalgic.

Bypassing formal community institutions and language, long declared by community spokespersons to be the key to meaningful group survival, the primary synoptic symbols found to express Ukrainianness in Canada today embrace the visible and the tangible - things like food, Easter eggs and embroidery. Food, so closely identified with the family and simultaneously uniting its members in a larger communion, constitutes a particularly significant bond between past and present and expression of Ukrainian Canadians' Ukrainian identity.[45] Politically innocuous and in themselves largely values-less, such symbols are compatible with what is apparently a satisfactory definition of the mosaic as a showcase of Canadians' cultural heritages. From the gigantic metal pysanka or Easter egg erected in Vegreville, Alberta, to mark that most Canadian of events, the one hundredth anniversary of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, to the Christmas Eve supper of twelve meatless dishes eaten by

Ukrainian Canadians as much as an ethnic as a religious statement and now painstakingly described by the mainstream media in its annual salute to "Ukrainian Christmas,"[46] the major contemporary symbols of Ukrainian Canadian identity represent work historically performed by women. This fact is partly responsible for baba's dominance over dido.

Just as baba's role in Canadian nationbuilding parallels that of the "official" Ukrainian pioneer woman, so her role as the guardian of customs and creator of cultural artifacts embodying Ukrainianness shares features with that of her formal counterpart. Both baba the popular figure and the community heroine, for example, owe their function to activities traditionally deemed appropriate for and associated with their sex, especially food preparation and handicrafts. But the community heroine is portrayed as a paragon of Ukrainian national consciousness and commitment in the aggressive preservation and execution of her traditions and art. Her descendants decorate elaborate Easter eggs while wearing fancy, intricately embroidered Ukrainian folk costumes; and they tie blue-and-yellow bows (the colours of the defeated Ukrainian People's Republic) on the sprigs of wheat replacing the traditional didukh, with its pagan and agricultural roots and ancestral associations, at Christmas.[47] Their actions are deliberate, formalized, ritualistic and political. Although baba's traditions and art too have been used to make a definite Ukrainian statement,[48] her mandate is ultimately more modest and her Ukrainianness more humble.

Baba's descendants associate her above all with food. They have used her to market Ukrainian dumplings or pyrohy, which have entered the English vocabulary as "perogies" and vie with holubtsi or cabbage rolls for honours as the most representative and widely known Ukrainian dish.[49] They have put her on mass-produced teeshirts to advertise "Baba's Borscht Soup." They have named restaurants and fast-food outlets after her - since the 1960s Edmonton alone has been home to Baba's Village, Baba's Ukrainian Food, Baba's Best Ukrainian Food and Granny's Perogies; and they have attributed cookbooks, national best sellers, to her genius.[50]

This association with food not only acknowledges women's central role in its creation and ritual, and baba's function as an ethnic group symbol, but in so doing also illustrates food's importance to Ukrainian Canadian identity. Visitors to the Ukrainian Canadian Servicemen's Association club in London, England, during the Second World War, for example, saw the food as the highlight of their stay. "Was in my glory last night," wrote one man on leave, "when I enjoyed my first plate of 'perohe' since leaving Canada last year. That's one thing a Ukrainian seems to ask for as soon as the Club is recommended to him." Another serviceman was equally appreciative: "Just like mother used to make 'em long ago."[51] Eating is both an ethnic and a family and a social activity. It draws attention to the kitchen and the woman as its pivot, and from there again to the larger question of women's position in Ukrainian Canadian peasant immigrant pioneer society and family life.

"When I paraphrase a tough Ukrainian baba I've heard back home," Ukrainian Canadian poet Andrew Suknaski replied when asked if ethnic writers risked fossilizing or caricaturing their heritage and group experience, "she speaks in a dialect":

> Maybe she's a bit monstrous in some way, but I don't feel that I am detracting from her dignity in doing this. I'm being true to the reality and I'm pointing something out, that is, that baba demythologizes our long-standing belief that the man is the head of the household in those days. In

fact, *baba* was the god and the head of the household.[52] Suknaski's comment should not be lightly dismissed, for the role *baba* plays in the popular group consciousness, both as the figure though which Ukrainian Canadians perceive and interpret their heritage and as an intensely personal image, suggests that in important ways he is right. *Baba* (and not *dido*) was the god and head of the household - perhaps not in an absolute sense in the actual distribution of power or authority or wealth, but as the emotional mainstay and focus of the family, the individual most associated with stability, continuity and human warmth. Gabrielle Roy, with a novelist's license and outsider's perspective, hints at this in her contrasting portraits of old Marta - with her inner calm, her quiet strength and suffering, her fortitude, her spiritual richness - and Stepan, her husband - beaten, bitter, complaining, helplessly furious that despite life's blows his wife should continue to water her flowers.[53] *Baba*'s presence on the homestead, and *dido*'s absence as cash shortages forced him to seek outside work, also account for her dominance.

Old Marta's traits, of course, are traditional "feminine" qualities, whether or not Roy deliberately intended her portrait to champion the notions of women's "natural" nurturing talents and moral superiority over the baseness of the male. But that their "female" characteristics and roles, the product of gender stereotyping and divisions of labour, made Ukrainian peasant immigrant pioneer women major emotive forces and points of identification within the family unit and have been largely responsible for *baba*'s popularity and predominance is indicated by the sources. They suggest as well that the grandmother figure not only has symbolic significance for Ukrainian Canadians today but also occupied a special place in Ukrainian peasant immigrant society itself.

Baba made her official debut in fact in 1914 when Miriam Elston's "Baba Petruchevich: The Patriotism of an Adopted Daughter" was awarded first prize in the Edmonton Journal's annual short story contest. Like many of Elston's vignettes of life in the Ukrainian colony east of Edmonton, the tale emphasizes the uplifting and saviour role of the young Anglo-Canadian women serving in Ukrainian districts, as the superior medical knowledge of the new teacher saves baba's grandson from certain death. But it goes beyond a confirmation of contemporary Anglo-Canadian stereotypes. The teacher's grief at her brother's departure for war "dwindled into nothingness" and her original cold indifference to baba was transformed into "an almost reverential esteem" as she realized the woman's "infinitely greater sacrifice of giving her Canadian son to fight the son who remained in Austria. As baba saw it, she was repaying the country that had blessed her and hers with freedom, security and justice."[54] Elston's heroine is simultaneously a symbol of assimilation to Anglo-Canadian values, an example (in a reversal of roles) of patriotic courage and sacrifice for her Anglo-Canadian "better," and proof of the common humanity and sisterhood under the sheepskin and shawl.

Baba's appearance at this early date, through the pen of a non-Ukrainian and in a context where a mother figure is more usual, prompts two observations. The first is the grandmother's importance to child-rearing in Ukrainian peasant immigrant pioneer families, common enough for her to supplant the mother in an outsider's mind. The second is the existence, already at the time of first settlement, of a popular Ukrainian consensus of a "baba" image, sufficiently strong to influence an outsider's word choice and Ukrainian typecasting. Baba, the peasant immigrant who was already an old woman in 1914, did not enter the Anglo-Canadian consciousness or English vocabulary in the wake of Elston's winning story; and she is not the same baba, the ethnic group symbol, popularized by subsequent generations of Ukrainian Canadians and familiar to the mainstream, particularly in western Canada. But the two are related, despite ultimately different functions, in that the role of the grandmother in Ukrainian peasant immigrant culture, especially as part of an extended family, provides a precedent and rationale for baba.

That the grandmother-grandchild relationship was a major factor in making baba the figure with which Ukrainian Canadians identified is illustrated by the 1979 one-act play, After Baba's Funeral, by Ukrainian Canadian playwright, Ted Galay. It is also a clear statement that baba acts as an ethnic group symbol, of Ukrainianness transmitted and interpreted through the cultural baggage of the early twentieth-century peasant immigrant. In the play Ronnie Danischuk, a doctoral student in mathematics in his late twenties, returns to his home town in rural Manitoba for baba's funeral, and while there comes to terms with his hyphenated identity. Baba and the contents of her immigrant's trunk are the vehicle. When the family pulls out her valyanky (felt boots), Ronnie remembers why as a young boy he had fought with a visiting cousin and refused to stay with his grandmother:

> That's why I wouldn't stay at Baba's. He laughed at her. He said she dressed funny, she talked funny. He even said she smelled funny....So I wouldn't play with him. But I was ashamed and when Baba tried to hug me, I pushed her away and I wouldn't go to her. Because she did smell funny. And she was wearing valyanky. Then I wanted to tell her I was sorry but never did.[55]

In the final moment of the play, he asks for the boots.

* * * * * * *

The official community heroine constructed on the Ukrainian pioneer woman, who retains the ability to act as a functional model and myth for future generations, was a logical evolution from the Canadianization of Princess Olha and the Ukrainian Mother. But she has been overshadowed by baba, who can be neither recreated nor perpetuated and is an essentially passive and nostalgic symbol of the Ukrainian peasant and pioneer heritage. A grassroots phenomenon, baba marks the victory of a cultural ethnic consciousness (whose symbols the elite nevertheless shares) erected upon foods, folk dance and selected handicrafts as the essence of Ukrainian Canadian identity. The loser is a politicized national consciousness, to be imparted to successive generations, with language and religion the principal underpinnings of a viable and distinctive Ukrainian Canadian community and group survival its goal. In either case, with the important but only partial exception of food, visible expressions of Ukrainianness and "being Ukrainian" have lost the unconscious spontaneity and universality they enjoyed as a natural part of daily life in the early days of Ukrainian settlement in Canada. Now they are overwhelmingly symbolic, ceremonial, stylized, and no longer integral to or denoting a Ukrainian Canadian lifestyle. As their popular personification, baba suffers from both fossilization and caricature.

Baba symbolizes not her sex or her family but the specific unrepeatable experience of her people. She legitimizes as does the Ukrainian male pioneer Ukrainian Canadians' sense of their place and role in

Canadian nationbuilding, as founding peoples of western Canada, and she embodies the essence of their Ukrainian peasant heritage. She deserves respect and admiration but she represents what was, not what is or should be; while her spiritual strength, courage and perseverance, for example, can be evoked to inspire her Canadian descendants, her cruder peasant and "unprogressive" traits (the eccentricity, the babushka) must die with her. Baba's popularization independent of official community sponsorship is as a largely static (albeit intensely personal) symbol associated with the formalized, highly selective, and politically inoffensive cultural content of contemporary Ukrainian Canadian identity. It illustrates both large-scale assimilation and the type of Ukrainianness, partly as a result of assimilation, with which the mass of Ukrainian Canadians is satisfied. From the community perspective, the pioneer intelligentsia-elite's assessment of the peasant immigrant woman as ignorant and apathetic, and its prediction of her effects on the Ukrainian Canadian future, have been proven correct. Baba's triumph signals the defeat of the blueprint for the Ukrainian Canadian group articulated by the nationalist elite in particular, with its emphasis on group obligation and commitment, active identification with Ukraine, and survival as an identifiable and vibrant community.

But baba, the frozen timepiece superseding the official community heroine with her powers as a functional model, is also the inevitable product of the second element in the nationalist program. Alongside the necessity of group survival and opposition to cultural assimilation, community spokespersons have insisted upon socioeconomic mobility, or progress, and full participation in Canadian society. In this they are not handicapped by a conflicting desire to live by traditional Ukrainian values which would be counterproductive to socioeconomic advancement or to preserve and practice a Ukrainian "way of life" reflecting their peasant immigrant baggage and station. Much of the nostalgia in the Ukrainian peasant pioneer myth and in Ukrainian Canadians' attachment to their heritage is for what they no longer want. In fact, apart from a traditional peasant lifestyle, Ukrainian Canadians had no well-defined way of life, established by law or custom, to be a realistic and rewarding alternative to increasingly empty cultural symbols to express their Ukrainian identity.

This type of Ukrainianness was not only less traumatized by the North American experience than a Ukrainian "way of life" would have been but it could also be maintained without straining the goal of full integration into Canadian socioeconomic, political and cultural life. Neither Nasha Meri and Katie's mandate to serve their community, nor the Ukrainian mother's duty to transmit a Ukrainian consciousness to her children through their national songs, folktales, history, traditions and language was to impede Nasha Meri and Katie's or the children's prospects as Canadians. Progress, in effect, robbed baba of her timelessness.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Gabrielle Roy, Garden in the Wind, trans. Alan Brown (Toronto 1977), 174.

[2] Eliane Leslau Silverman, The Last Best West: Women on the Alberta Frontier, 1880-1930 (Montreal and London 1984), 74.

[3] James S. Woodsworth, dir., "Ukrainian Rural Communities," mimeographed (Report of investigation by Bureau of Social Research, governments of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, Winnipeg 1917), 48. Feminist Helen Potrebenko, who grew up in northern Alberta in the 1940s and 1950s, indicates the endurance and depth of both popular Anglo-Canadian and Ukrainian stereotypes; see her "Ethnicity and Femininity as Determinants of Life Experience," Canadian Ethnic Studies 13, no. 1 (1981): 39-40.

[4] The folklorist, Robert Klymasz, includes Ukrainian immigrant women among his informants although he identifies the telling of tales as an overwhelmingly male occupation. Predominantly male storytellers have resulted in an often derogatory portrayal of women, while female folksongs and poetic narratives have functioned as an outlet for repressed emotions and increasingly to express women's rebellion against oppression. Klymasz also finds that immigrant female memorat (reminiscences) do not possess the sense of personal mission and sweeping perspective of immigrant male memorat. See Robert B. Klymasz, "Ukrainian Folklore in Canada: An Immigrant Complex in Transition" (Ph.D., Indiana University, 1970), 29, 48-51.

[5] Anna Bychinsky, "Ukrainians' Pioneering," Grain Growers' Guide (1 S 1920): 35. The best example of the institutionalization of the image of the heroic Ukrainian pioneer woman, her important family and community roles, and her contribution to nationbuilding remains Dorothy Cherewick, "Woman in Ukrainian Canadian Folklore and Reminiscences" (M.A., University of Manitoba, 1980).

[6] Pavlo Tymkevych, "Visty z Kanady - Kilko maemo farmeriv v Kanadi?" Svoboda (3 N 1898): 2.

[7] E. Krasitskyi, "Oselia Kuks Krik," Kanadiiskyi ukrainets (3 Jl 1929): 5 (reprinted from Ukrainskyi emigrant).

[8] Anna Bychinsky, "Ukrainian Women at Home," Grain Growers' Guide (16 Je 1920): 40. See also the comments of the policeman investigating the suicide of a Ukrainian peasant immigrant woman following a beating

by her husband on suspicion of infidelity; Constable J. Nash, Alberta Provincial Police, Vermilion, 31 August 1917, Inquest file 1012, Department of the Attorney General Records, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton.

[9] A random selection of titles from the Alberta Culture publication, Alberta's Local Histories in the Historical Resources Library, 6th ed. (Edmonton 1986) illustrates this orientation: from sods to silver, homesteads and happiness, pioneers and progress, forests to grainfields, dreams and destinies (Ukrainian), we came and we stayed, our priceless heritage, trail blazers, hills of hope, this is our land, wagon trails to hardtop, ten dollars and a dream, great pioneers who cleared and broke the virgin land, children of the pioneers, to the future - your heritage, century of progress (Ukrainian), golden memories, trails to highways. Joanne Stiles makes many of the same observations about local histories in "Gilded Memories: Perceptions of the Frontier in Rural Alberta as Reflected in Popular History" (M.A., University of Alberta, 1985).

[10] Interestingly, and no doubt reflecting similarities in the status of women and ethnic Ukrainians, the virtues of the Ukrainian peasant pioneer myth - the immigrants' courage, perseverance, industry, thrift, uncomplaining toil, silent suffering and sacrifice - are not particularly "manly" virtues and in fact correspond more to the female than the male pioneer stereotype.

[11] The difficulties this presents for feminists are reflected in their preference for the pioneer woman's attempts at community and organization to address women's issues, perceived as more meaningful links to their own contemporary concerns. See, for example, the National Film Board of Canada's "Prairie Women" (1987), written and directed by Barbara Evans, a celebration of the pioneers of the early twentieth-century women's movement in the West.

[12] Nancy Mattson Schelstraete, ed., Life in the New Finland Woods: A History of New Finland, Saskatchewan (Rocanville 1982), 41-3. Compare this with the pictorial portrayal of woman's life on the farm in Steve Hrynew, ed., Pride in Progress: Chipman-St. Michael-Star and Districts (Chipman 1982), 49-50, a history of the areas forming the original nucleus of the Ukrainian bloc settlement in east-central Alberta. The Ukrainian women are shown at a feathering bee, tending poultry, picking mushrooms, gardening, milking, stooking, shovelling grain, preparing clay plaster and applying the plaster to the building itself. Stiles, "Gilded Memories," 59, corroborates that women's work on the land is generally viewed as having been exceptional, but she fails to appreciate the Ukrainian differences.

[13] Ragna Steen and Magda Hendrickson, Pioneer Days in Bardo, Alberta, Including Sketches of Early Surrounding Settlements (Tofield 1944), dedication page; see also chapter 21, "Our Pioneer Mothers," 165-79. A glorified local history, the Norwegian volume in the Generations Series does tie Norwegian women to nationbuilding, paying homage to the "courageous women working side by side with their strong partner" in the

"titanic struggle to conquer the new land"; but it relies on the Bardo description for its primary image and identifies women's roles as mothers, "sending forth dependable citizens and leaders into emerging Canadian society, thereby building Canada as a safe and sane country," as their major function and contribution; see Gulbrand Loken, From Fjord to Frontier: A History of the Norwegians in Canada (Toronto 1980), 217-9.

[14] The dominance of the French Canadian mother figure should not obscure the "Great Women," significantly from the pre-Conquest period, cultivated as models and sources of inspiration for contemporary women in the service of the nation. Nor should it obscure the similarities between either the heroic image of women in New France and that of the Ukrainian homesteader in western Canada or between the venerable image of the French Canadian grandmother and that of the Ukrainian peasant immigrant pioneer. See, for example, Lionel Groulx, "The Role and Traditions of the French Canadian Family," in Abbé Groulx: Variations on a Nationalist Theme, ed. Susan Mann Trofimenkoff (Toronto 1973), 100-20; Susan Mann Trofimenkoff, "Les femmes dans l'oeuvre de Groulx," Revue d'histoire de l'amerique francaise 32, no. 3 (décembre 1978): 385-98; and Margaret Andrews, "Review Article: Attitudes in Canadian Women's History, 1945-1975," Journal of Canadian Studies 12, no. 4 (Su 1977): 69-78. That Ukrainians have not, however, wanted a past utopia and that the French Canadian mother has not become a nostalgic grandmother like baba irrevocably distinguish the two traditions.

[15] The Italian mother has been traditionally associated with the family and not the nation or group, and emphasis is as much on the respect and love she merits as on her own responsibilities. Despite these crucial differences from the Ukrainian Canadian group figure, the parallels that exist between her popular exploitation in North America, particularly in the marketing of food, and Ukrainian Canadians' use of baba should be kept in mind.

[16] Myroslava Ferbei, "Vidkryttia statui pionerskoi zhinky," Promin 23, no. 3 (Mr 1982): 4. In unveiling the statue, Martha Bielish (herself a member of the Ukrainian Canadian pantheon of heroes and heroines as the first woman senator of Ukrainian origin) applauded its dedication to all pioneer women as a pioneering step itself, a deliberate attempt to transcend the self-imposed ghettoization often characterizing the Ukrainian community; telephone conversation, Martha Bielish to Frances Swyripa, 23 June 1987.

[17] Letter, John Weaver (sculptor of "Madonna of the Wheat"), Hope, British Columbia, to Frances Swyripa, 12 June 1987; also telephone conversation, 2 June 1987. Gloria Ferbey of the UWAC Alberta executive and an influential voice behind the portrayal of the pioneer woman reported of the unveiling that everyone was "very pleased" with the result; Ferbei, "Vidkryttia," 4. Both "Madonna of the Wheat" and the Mol sculpture should be viewed together with the 1951 depiction of the pioneer couple by post-1945 immigrant, Myron Levytsky, on the UCC plaque commemorating the sixtieth anniversary of Ukrainian settlement in Canada; both man and woman are very much in the heroic mold, both

are young, and the woman again cradles a sheaf of wheat.

[18] Stephanie Sawchuk, "Our Women in Ukrainian and Canadian Life," in Ukrainian Canadian Committee, First All-Canadian Congress of Ukrainians in Canada (Winnipeg 1943), 161-3.

[19] "Z nahody Dnia matery," Novyi shliakh (12 My 1945): 3. For later expressions of this sentiment, see, for example, "Bezimenni nashi heroini," Zhinochyi svit 17, no. 2 (F 1966): 1, where the annual February commemoration of Ukrainian heroines focuses on the pioneer woman instead of Olha Basarab.

[20] Z. Maievska, "Den materi," Promin 22, no. 5 (My 1981): 5. See also, for example, P. Chyhyryn, "U Sviato heroin," Promin 3, no. 2 (F 1962): 1-3. The idea of the prairie frontier where the immigrant pioneer woman toiled, the latter article states, must be broadened by her successors to make the world their arena of pioneering work on behalf of Ukraine (2).

[21] "Den materi," Nasha doroha 11, no. 2 (Ap-Je 1980): 2. For another example of the Ukrainian Catholic perspective of the Ukrainian pioneer woman as homesteader, nationbuilder, mother, and member of her church and community, see Anna Pryima, "Zhinka-pionerka," in Dlia Boha, tserkvy i narodu: Liga ukrainskykh katolytskykh zhinok edmontonskoi ieparkhii v 1944-1964 rokakh, pochatky i diialnist, ed. Iryna Pavlykovska (Edmonton [1966]), 13-5. In 1951 the new immigrant, Olena Kysilewska, praised the peasant pioneer for her commitment to her language, faith and cultural traditions but did not tie her to Canadian nation-building; see "Poklin ukrainskykh pioneram i pionerkam Kanady!" (typescript), Olena Kysilewska Papers, National Archives of Canada, Ottawa.

[22] Olenka Negrych, "Thoughts for Mother's Day," Promin 1, no. 5 (My 1960): 11-2; essentially the same point is made in her "Seventy Years Ago," Promin 2, no. 6 (Je 1961): 18-9. For two male perspectives on the lessons of the pioneer mother for contemporary Ukrainian Canadian women, see I.H. Lozynskyi, "Maty pionerka i teperishnia," Promin 4, no. 5 (My 1963): 8-9; and H. Ewach, "Why I Love My Mother," Promin 7, no. 5 (My 1966): 16-7.

[23] See, for example, Peter Krawchuk, "Ukrainian Women in Early History," Ukrainian Canadian (Mr 1972): 15-9.

[24] "Mother's Day: An Editorial," Ukrainian Canadian (15 Ap 1952): 9; and the speech by Anne Lapchuk, "A Tribute to Our Women," in Association of United Ukrainian Canadians and Workers Benevolent Association, A Tribute to Our Ukrainian Pioneers in Canada's First Century (Winnipeg 1966), 92-4.

[25] Hannah Polowy, "The Role of the Pioneer Woman in Family Life," Ukrainian Canadian (Mr 1972): 20-1; see also her "Heritage and the Child," Ukrainian Canadian (Je 1978): 15-9.

[26] Marion Philipovich, "First Violets," Ukrainian Canadian (1 My

1958): 9-10. See also Kay Homer, "This Mother's Day, 1957," *Ukrainian Canadian* (1 My 1957): 14; and "To Our AUUC Women," *Ukrainian Canadian* (Mr 1972): 5.

[27] Jeanette Loeden's official portrait commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the women's branches of the ULFTA-AUUC is an important exception to this depiction. It shows a simply-dressed young peasant woman in profile, seated at a table, her head covered, her hands resting in her lap and her eyes serenely gazing ahead. While not the "Ukrainian" of the nationalists, neither is she the stereotypic revolutionary. See Mary Prokop, "Looking Back Fifty Years," *Ukrainian Canadian* (Mr 1972): 9.

[28] *Notable Saskatchewan Women, 1905-1980* (N.p. 1980), 29. On the direct line between the "Great Women" of Ukraine and major organizational figures in Canada, see, for example, Oleksander Luhovyi [Oleksander Ovrutskyi-Shvabe], *Vyznachne zhinotstvo Ukrainy* (Winnipeg 1942); and Hanna Mandryka, "Zhinochyi rukh u sviti i ukrainska zhinka," *Zhinochyi svit* 5, nos. 10-11 (Oc-N 1954): 2-6.

[29] See, for example, the obituary of seventy-eight-year-old Maria Svarich of Edmonton, eulogized in what would become a familiar formula as "an exemplary mother and homemaker, a member of her community, an active patriot and a generous donor"; *Visnyk* (1 Ag 1935): 8. Subsequent obituaries would also list her children's professional status and community activities to illustrate the deceased's worthiness as a Ukrainian and a mother.

[30] Petro Kravchuk, comp., *Zhinochi doli* (Toronto 1973). Lapchuk's eulogy to the pioneer woman in Association of United Ukrainian Canadians and Workers Benevolent Association, *Tribute to Our Ukrainian Pioneers*, ultimately identifies her as a progressive activist, helping her husband "to build an articulate Ukrainian Canadian community that has become a force for peace and progress in Canada" (94). See also Mary Prokop, "Forty Glorious Years of Life, Hope, Struggle," *Ukrainian Canadian* (15 My 1962): 12.

[31] See, for example, the biographical sketches of the presidents of the UWAC in Nataliia L. Kohuska, *Pivstolittia na hromadskii nyvi: Narys istorii Soiuzu ukrainok Kanady* (Edmonton and Winnipeg 1986), 741-69. See also the sections on the community activist in Cherewick, "Woman in Ukrainian Canadian Folklore and Reminiscences," although her heroic figure does not always or necessarily correspond to specific individuals.

[32] See, for example, "Svitlii pamiati Marii Hultai," *Zhinochyi svit* 19, nos. 11-12 (N-D 1968): 22-3; "40-litnii iuvilei hromadskoi pratsii Ievhenii Sytnyk," *Zhinochyi svit* 20, no. 2 (F 1969): 9-11; Iryna Pavlykovska, "Pochesna chlenka LUKZh Kanady (Anna Pryima)," *Nasha doroha* 6 no. 2 (Ap-Je 1975): 9-10; Lena Sloboda, "Honorary Member of UCWL (Nellie Woytkiw)," *Nasha doroha* 6, no. 4 (Oc-D 1975): 17-8; Stefaniia Paush, "D-r Savelia Stechyshyn," *Promin* 18, no. 4 (Ap 1977): 3-4; and "'Za zasluhy suproty ukrainskoi hromady' (Hanka Romanchych-Kovalchuk i

Stefaniia Paush)," Promin 19, no. 2 (F 1978): 11-3.

[33] Nasha doroha 4, no. 1 (Ja-F 1973): 1; and Nasha doroha 11, no. 2 (Ap-Je 1980): 20.

[34] Based on Bohdan S. Kordan, Ukrainians and the 1981 Canada Census: A Data Handbook, Research Report No. 9 (Edmonton 1985), tables 4.3 and 4.4. The Orthodox figures, crucial to the fortunes of the church's UWAC affiliate, were less encouraging: 52.8 per cent of the 18.4 per cent of Ukrainian Canadian women identifying themselves as Orthodox were over forty-five; ibid.

[35] William Kurelek, "Development of Ethnic Consciousness in a Canadian Painter," in Identities: The Impact of Ethnicity on Canadian Society, ed. Wsevolod Isajiw (Toronto 1977), 52.

[36] The UWAC bought only twelve paintings, mostly those with distinctly Ukrainian national-cultural themes: "A First Meeting of the Ukrainian Women's Association," "Women Feeding Threshing Gang," "A Boorday - The First House," "Ukrainian Canadian Farm Picnic," "Blessing the Easter Paska," "The Second House," "Clay Plastering," "Teaching the Sign of the Cross," "Making Easter Eggs," "Ukrainian Christmas Eve Supper," "Teaching Ukrainian" and "Teaching Embroidery." They are kept at the Ukrainian Museum of Canada in Saskatoon.

Despite the fact that the paintings are not only unmistakably Canadian in their Ukrainian content but also unmistakably Ukrainian in their Canadian content, historian Ramsay Cook brings the same assumptions to the pioneer woman series as to Kurelek's work generally: the prairie pioneer and not the specifically Ukrainian ultimately determines the paintings' significance. Moreover, his attempt to extract the universal prairie dimension misconstrues the pictures' Ukrainian content. "The First Meeting of the Ukrainian Women's Association in Saskatchewan," Cook says, "reveals a great deal about prairie history: the country school with its inadequate stove, and the women gathered to form an organization to break down the isolation around them and to protect the community from powers outside"; Ramsay Cook, "William Kurelek: A Prairie Boy's Visions," Journal of Ukrainian Studies 5, no. 1 (Sp 1980): 40. This analysis both misses the vital point that the Ukrainian narodnyi dim or national hall and not the alien school is the picture's setting and belittles the Ukrainian group goals and sense of larger community behind the founding of the UWAC.

[37] Olga Dzatko, "A Tribute to Ukrainian Pioneer Women," Ukrainian Canadian (1 F 1968): 11. Interestingly, this was the most extensive coverage of the exhibit in the Ukrainian Canadian press.

[38] The "Baba bell" and doll are the creations of Edmontonians, Sandi Skakun and Donna Marchyshyn, respectively. The artist of the papier maché figurine is unknown.

[39] The one exception is her use on mass-produced ceramic cookie jars, although the bespectacled, aproned and cherubic grandmother has been Ukrainized (like the Madonna) with red-and-white embroidery. This

Ukrainization of the mainstream image, however, must be seen in another sense as the Canadianization of baba.

[40] This image is not always complimentary, and the portrayal of the peasant woman, like that of Vuiko Shtif and Nasha Meri, was often intended to show the immigrant reacting to and attempting to cope with an unfamiliar new world. For the peasant woman as she is depicted, both as a type and as an immigrant in Canada, in the satirical-humourous press, see in particular, Vuiko (1918-1927), Vuiko Shtif (1927-1929) and Tochylo (1930-1947).

[41] Maara Haas, "Baba Podkova," Canadian Woman Studies 4, no. 2 (W 1982): 6-7; the tale is as much about the attitude of the Nasha Meri and Katie generation as it is about Baba Podkova and her irrepressibility despite external demands for change. "In Search of Multicultural Woman" is Haas's guest editorial in the same publication. She rejects an each-to-her-own definition of multiculturalism while criticizing the Canadian propensity for labels and the inequalities and assimilatory pressures it has represented. She also returns to the Baba Podkova theme. Woven into the discussion of her own confusion growing up in the 1930s with a hyphenated identity is a restaurant scene in the 1980s as Haas and her friend, Rochelle La Roche, meet for dinner. Rochelle comes dressed as Baba Podkova. As they relax, Haas involuntarily exclaims, "What I can't explain is why I'm so furious with Rochelle La Roche in her Paris version of a Ukrainian immigrant"; ibid., 5. The possessiveness of this reaction testifies to baba's personal significance and belies the generous sharing of cultures Haas's definition of multiculturalism implies. See also Raymond Serwylo, "Baba: A Day in the Life," Student (Je 1978): 8, similar to "Baba Podkova" in its portrayal of baba (she drinks beer and raises chickens in Winnipeg) and its condemnation of her treatment by a subsequent generation, in this case an uncaring non-Ukrainian daughter-in-law.

[42] Designed and made by Gee Bee Buttons, Saskatoon.

[43] Stefaniia Abrahamovska, "Ukrainska zhinka v publychnim i rodynnim zhytiu," Ukrainskyi holos (16 Jl 1919): 16.

[44] See Wsevolod Isajiw, "Symbols and Ukrainian Canadian Identity: Their Meaning and Significance," in Visible Symbols: Cultural Expression Among Canada's Ukrainians, ed. Manoly R. Lupul (Edmonton 1984), 119-28.

[45] Ibid., 121-2, 125-6. In the same volume, see also Zenon Pohorecky, "Ukrainian Cultural and Political Symbols in Canada: An Anthropological Selection" (129-41) and Jars Balan, "The Search for Symbols: Some Observations" (162-6), both of which refer to food and the Balan article also to baba.

[46] See, for example, Jean Swenson, "Evening Star Tonight Signals Beginning of Ukrainian Christmas Season," Edmonton Journal (6 Ja 1966): 14; and Gordon Morash, "Ukrainians Celebrate a Gift of Tradition," Edmonton Journal (31 D 1987): D1.

[47] See "Easter Time Heralded by Egg Painting," Promin 10, no. 4 (Ap 1969): 15; and "Christmas Eve Table Setting," Nasha doroha 5, no. 5 (N-D 1974): 13.

[48] The drawings of Julian Sadlowski are an excellent example of baba Ukrainized. In his "Painting Easter Eggs" (1987), a gnarled old woman in her kerchief - but wearing a Ukrainian embroidered blouse and with a rushnyk-draped icon of Madonna and Child behind her - decorates an Easter egg. In another drawing (1979), hanging in the Ukrainian senior citizens' hall in North Battleford, Saskatchewan, baba is herself an icon; she has been surrounded by the visible symbols of Ukrainianness, a loaf of braided bread and an Easter egg, and she has been given a halo. See also the painting by Mary Nagy, "What Baba Taught Me," in the collection of the Ukrainian Museum of Canada, Saskatoon. The ordinary old woman dressed in black and working on an Easter egg is not the overtly "Ukrainized" woman of Sadlowski's drawings but the underlying message is the same.

[49] On the mainstreaming of the "perogy," and its association with baba, see, for example, Joyce Meyer, "Why the Perogy Went W.A.S.P.," Edmonton Report on Dining (28 N 1978): 20-1.

[50] Emily Linkiewich, Baba's Cook Book, 2 vols. (Vegreville 1981 and 1984). One restaurant, in Regina, Saskatchewan, has been named after dido.

[51] Helen C. Kozicky, comp., "Summary of U.C.S.A. Diary for the Month of January 1945" (typescript), 11, 7, in Ol'ha Woycenko Papers, vol. 35, file 7, National Archives of Canada, Ottawa. See also, "The Plight of the Perih," in William Paluk, Canadian Cossacks: Essays, Articles and Stories on Ukrainian-Canadian Life (Winnipeg 1943), 61-7, which equates the perih with Ukrainian national identity, peasantness and the family.

[52] Robert Kroetsch and Andrew Suknaski in "Ethnicity and Identity: The Question of One's Literary Passport" (panel discussion), in Identifications: Ethnicity and the Writer in Canada, ed. Jars Balan (Edmonton 1982), 75.

[53] In discussing the depiction of Ukrainian women in Canadian literature, Natalia Aponiuk contends that pioneer immigrant women, "the only propagator[s] of joy and spiritual beauty in a harsh existence," have had a more positive image than their male counterparts; she also notes how in Margaret Atwood's Life Before Man (1979), Lesje's Jewish and Ukrainian grandmothers battle for her ethnic allegiance. See Natalia Aponiuk, "Some Images of Ukrainian Women in Canadian Literature," Journal of Ukrainian Studies 8, no. 1 (Su 1983): 39-50. In the manuscript for her autobiographical novel, Vera Lysenko equates her Saskatchewan grandmother with inner strength, vitality and both Canadian prairie and Ukrainian historical roots (Vera Lysenko Papers, vol. 1, file 15, National Archives of Canada, Ottawa); see also "Winnipeg Atmosphere," vol. 3, file 9, in which the old women are very much "peasants" yet lovers of beauty.

[54] Miriam Elston, "Baba Petruchevich: The Patriotism of an Adopted Daughter," Edmonton Journal (22 D 1914): 2.

[55] Ted Galay, "After Baba's Funeral" and "Sweet and Sour Pickles": Two Plays by Ted Galay (Toronto 1981), 36. In Peter Shostak's painting, "Was That Your Baba's Coat?" (1978), *baba*'s sheepskin performs a function similar to the felt boots in *After Baba's Funeral*. Ted Galay's play *Tsymbaly* calls upon a host of symbols from the Ukrainian peasant immigrant heritage (of which *baba*'s handful of Ukrainian earth and the *pich* or outdoor oven are the most important) as Nickie Stefanyk, the successful professional, comes to terms with his roots and himself as part of a continuum. Reviewing the Manitoba Theatre Centre's production of the play, Ray Conlogue describes the "impossibly old Baba" as a "granite rock at the centre of Tsymbaly's mythopoeic universe"; *Globe and Mail* (18 Ja 1986): D15. Conlogue stresses the emotional involvement of the Ukrainian members of the audience, singing with the actors to urge Nickie to acknowledge his people and his past, but he equally insists upon the universality of the play's message and emotional appeal.

CONCLUSION

The two fundamental processes to affect Ukrainian women over the past century in Canada have been modernization, as part of a peasant society in an emigration-immigration situation, and "Canadianization" or transformation into ethnic Canadian women. Not only have the two processes been interrelated but they have also affected the three immigrations unevenly. The peasantness of the first two waves, for example, interfered with progress and defined an essentially passive Ukrainianness identified with a rural agricultural lifestyle. Many displaced persons, on the other hand, arrived with an urban culture and Ukrainian consciousness that facilitated both integration into Canadian society and "being Ukrainian" as part of a politicized community.

Being female and Ukrainian has prejudiced women's mobility as Canadians in Canadian society; it has also resulted in group-imposed behaviour models and obligations, whether solicited or not, tying them to Ukraine and emphasizing their membership in the Ukrainian nation. Their ethnicity in the first instance, although they could and did manoeuvre within its limits, was not willingly chosen or understood to be a positive aspect of their identity. It reflected external factors impinging upon women because of their sex and Ukrainian origins and often beyond their control: their group's immigrant entrance status, the position of women in traditional Ukrainian society, the nativism shared by Anglo-Canadian men and women alike, and Canadian attitudes to women's roles in both public and private spheres. Women's ethnicity in the second instance, regardless of their personal feelings toward their heritage, has also been involuntary, dictated by self-appointed community activists and spokespersons who have insisted that the predicament of twentieth-century Ukraine imposes special obligations on Ukrainian Canadians and gives them special needs.

It is because of this that they have made survival as a distinct and viable national-cultural collectivity encompassing all Ukrainian Canadians a priority. And it is because of this that they have cultivated a particular view of Canadian history and Ukrainians' role in the country's development that exploits a genuine feeling of participation in Canadian nationbuilding rooted in the time and place of their great immigration; community leaders have used their group's myth to justify its right to full partnership in Confederation, as a founding people of western Canada, and thus to public recognition and support of their goals for group preservation. Concern for respectability and acceptability in Canadian society has also affected community attitudes toward the group's members - demanding that they conform to Canadian standards of conduct in their personal and public lives, making their "successes" and achievements group "successes" and achievements, and using them to inspire and motivate other Ukrainian Canadians or to expose and decry inappropriate behaviour and attitudes.

The images, roles and myths created about and for Ukrainian Canadian women have reflected their community's commitment to both Canadian and Ukrainian group goals, the Canadian influences that have made Ukrainian origins a handicap, and the differences in the understanding of the Ukrainian Canadian identity that characterize the elite and popular consciousness. They also demonstrate how, at both elite and popular levels, Ukrainianness has determined women's relationship to the group, with the subordination of female issues and perspectives to Ukrainian ones, while assuring women a place in their group's history and a prominent role in its collective self-image, propaganda and programs. To focus solely on assimilation or shared experiences with all Canadian women in writing the history of Ukrainian women in Canada would be to deny an important aspect of their identity and part of the reality that, for better or worse and whether wanted or not, has shaped their lives.

Dedication to group survival and integration in Canada and to service to Ukraine has meant that women have been perceived as legitimate and unquestioned actors in the Ukrainian Canadian experience, despite an actual subordinate position in their society and community. Individual female examples of success in the broader Canadian sphere or of Ukrainian artistic talent or organizational activity have been as significant and exploitable as the achievements and contributions of Ukrainian men, and in a manner that makes gender irrelevant. Ukrainian concerns have also ensured that women, like men and children, would be regarded as members of their group to be mobilized and used for its purposes. But women, as mothers responsible for the attitudes and deportment of youth, the group's future, were particularly crucial to community propaganda and programs dedicated to group survival and upward mobility in Canada and aid to Ukraine abroad. Both in their traditional roles, within the home raising Ukrainian children, and as active participants in community and national life, primarily through the women's organizations that testified simultaneously to their separate sphere and to the obligation to public service that group membership imposed, women's energies and talents were to be directed and molded to further Ukrainian goals.

Beginning with the turn-of-the-century peasant immigrant in the Ukrainian rural bloc settlements in the prairie provinces, a community elite anxious to secure its people respectability and prosperity as Canadians while identifying them with the national aspirations of a homeland seeking political self-expression, undertook to monitor the behaviour of Ukrainian Canadian women, to agitate on behalf of enlightenment and progress in discarding peasantness, and to transform their essentially passive and folk Ukrainian cultural baggage into an active politicized national consciousness. Turning the benefits of the Canadian environment to Ukrainian purposes, women were to take advantage of new ideas and socioeconomic and educational opportunities to improve themselves, the quality of their housekeeping and childrearing, and their sense of social responsibility toward the larger community.

The urgency of identifying women with group goals and needs as defined and articulated by a crystallizing community leadership intensified with the peasant immigrant's daughters, the first generation of Ukrainian Canadian women to have sustained contact with the Anglo-Canadian world, either through the workplace, the school or recreational activities. Deemed ill-equipped by their upbringing, under mothers who themselves needed guidance, to handle the pressures and attractions of Anglo-Canadian society, these girls were seen as the easy victims of denationalization. When they married English men, or refused to speak Ukrainian to their husbands and children or to encourage their interest in Ukrainian affairs, they alienated not only themselves but future generations from the Ukrainian community. Education, employment and Canadian ideas concerning womanhood also promised emancipation from traditional demanding and subservient roles, regardless of the restrictions their gender and Ukrainian origins placed on the girls' mobility in the new society, together with emancipation from reliance on traditional networks and community structures for personal satisfaction and social identity. These considerations were particularly important to interwar nationalists, stimulated to support of the homeland and to survival as a group in Canada by Ukrainians' failure to establish an independent state in 1917-20. To progressives who welcomed the Bolshevik victory in Ukraine, committing both the peasant immigrant and her daughters to enlightenment, progress and self-improvement was directed not to national but to class ends. Women were to be identified with and mobilized on behalf of the workers' struggle against socioeconomic exploitation, ethnic discrimination and political powerlessness.

Both nationalists and progressives, as they sought to convert and enlist the mass of ordinary women in their respective causes, resorted to "Great Women" as models and sources of inspiration. Progressives chose women from the international revolutionary movement as well as Ukrainian heroines from their own revolutionary period and the subsequent building of communism in Soviet Ukraine. Nationalists chose women who had demonstrated dedication, service and sacrifice - as mothers and as public figures - to the Ukrainian nation in its struggle for physical, national and cultural survival and political self-expression. Both progressives and nationalists perceived women's organizations as the platform from which to translate the message of "Great

Women" into programs of action, as the vehicles for educating Ukrainian Canadian women in their class or national responsibilities, and as the means for actively involving them in their respective communities in pursuit of their goals. The establishment of separate women's organizations, attached to male organizations which dominated community structures and controlled decision-making, moderated the support of female rights and equality implied in the insistence on women's participation in public life as full members of their community. Organized women have since defended their women's work, particularly the fund-raising ventures that represented an extension of their kitchen function and handicrafts skills, as the cornerstone, in a very concrete sense, of the Ukrainian Canadian community.

To her descendants in organized women's circles, the turn-of-the-century immigrant has been retrospectively transformed from an ignorant and apathetic peasant who needed enlightening and politicizing into a model and source of inspiration herself. She is now perceived not only to have laboured, suffered and made the necessary sacrifices so that her children might have a better future, but also to have deliberately preserved her language and culture, transmitting them to her children to ensure group survival, and to have joined with like-minded women under the ideological banners dividing yet defining the Ukrainian Canadian community to further their respective ambitions. The peasant immigrant pioneer woman has also been placed on a pedestal by her descendants at the popular level. The popular image, however, is not of the young woman she was, recreated with each generation as a functional model and source of inspiration for her sex and ultimately linked to survival. Rather it is of the old woman she became, a more passive and frozen symbol, albeit an intensely personal figure reflecting the woman's importance in Ukrainian immigrant pioneer family life.

Baba identifies Ukrainian Canadians with their peasant pioneer heritage in western Canada, in part shared with all westerners, and their psychological identification with Canadian nationbuilding. She also identifies them with their Ukrainian heritage, in the triumph of an ethnic cultural consciousness, based on the folk culture of the peasant immigrant pioneers, over a politicized national consciousness, based on continuing identification with and commitment to Ukraine and formal community institutional life in Canada. The non-linguistic expressions of Ukrainianness that constitute the essence of the contemporary Ukrainian Canadian identity - embroidery, Easter eggs, and especially food - represent work historically performed by women. Innocuous symbols, in themselves largely values-less and politically unthreatening, they are also compatible with the mainstream's understanding of multiculturalism.

Both baba and the type of Ukrainianness she represents were inevitable. The dual imperative placed on Ukrainian Canadians - to preserve a Ukrainian identity while pursuing individual and group integration into Canadian socioeconomic, political and cultural life - contained irreconcilable tensions as upward mobility and involvement in Canadian society, coupled with the pressures of that society, made the line between integration and total assimilation difficult to maintain. Partially explaining the nationalist community's indifference to ethnicity as an externally-imposed socioeconomic concept, Ukrainians' understanding of ethnicity and the Canadian mosaic or multiculturalism has not entailed the desire to maintain values counterproductive to socioeconomic advancement or supporting a way of life that would preclude or conflict with full participation in the Canadian mainstream as Canadians.

The pioneer community elite had early decided that a peasant lifestyle was not suited to the new country. Neither was "Ukrainian" to be peasant, yet the demand for integration equally meant that "Ukrainian" was not to embrace a lifestyle that isolated Ukrainians from other Canadians. In Canada the boundaries of legitimate and identifiable Ukrainian behaviour were immediately and automatically narrowed from what they were in Ukraine. A group that is psychologically both emigrant and immigrant, wishing to retain its national-cultural identity while integrating into a new society of which it perceives itself to be a co-builder, cannot and does not permit the range and extremes of the mother society.

In Ukraine, despite the deliberate cultural and political statements of Ukrainianness that historically Polonization and Russification and currently Sovietization have evoked and necessitated, an individual's entire life - walking down the street, choosing a career, having a baby - was part of "being Ukrainian" in an unconscious and natural Ukrainian way of life. In Canada, where there is no Ukrainian way of life and where there ultimately cannot be one because Ukrainians have wanted to participate fully in Canadian life together with and as the equals of other Canadians, it was necessary to make "being Ukrainian" a deliberate statement with easily recognized symbols that did not interfere with "being Canadian." It has imposed an unnatural homogeneity on its members and created a series of formal, often ritualistic and artificial, points of identification. Whereas the Ukrainian in Ukraine could dislike singing, pyrohy, cross-stitch embroidery, or the church, for example, and not have his or her Ukrainianness challenged, the same latitude has not been permitted Ukrainians in Canada, where musicality, Ukrainian foods and handicrafts, and Ukrainians' peculiar religious rite have become distinguishing Ukrainian traits and hallmarks of Ukrainianness. But language, considered crucial to national-cultural survival by the community elite and at the heart of Russification at home, has been the aspect of the Ukrainian heritage most vulnerable to assimilatory pressures.

Expressions of Ukrainianness compatible with integration have been largely reduced to the folk arts (traditionally equated with female activities) imported with the first immigrants. As in nineteenth-century Ukraine, folk arts were perceived by the nationalist community elite as a base for and subsequently as a component of a subjective Ukrainian consciousness, and organized women's emphasis on their obligation to preserve and create Ukrainian handicrafts in Canada recognizes this. At the same time, the motivational and inspirational role that such things can play is limited. The embroideries done by Ukrainian female political prisoners in the Soviet Union and smuggled out of the camps to the West express personal creativity and emotion; as expressions of Ukrainianness, they also possess considerable power as national-political, religious and cultural symbols.[1] The pin cushion made to an instructor's pattern in an introductory embroidery class in a schoolroom in Canada cannot perform the same function. In Canada, where the use of identifiably Ukrainian symbols, whether political or cultural, requires no courage and carries no threat of reprisal, symbols can only with difficulty be translated into a meaningful Ukrainianness, even within the formal community. That Ukrainian folk culture has also been responsible for an ethnic cultural consciousness among Ukrainian Canadians is proof of its widespread attractiveness and staying power but also testifies to the essentially passive Ukrainian identity it champions.

FOOTNOTES

[1] See Invincible Spirit: Art and Poetry of Ukrainian Women Political Prisoners in the USSR (Baltimore 1977).

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